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## INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S The New York limes **WEEKLY REVIEW**

## US skeptical about Iraqi withdrawal reports

**BATSHEVA TSUR** and news agencies

IRAQ ordered its troops yesterday to withdraw from Irbil, the main city in the US-protected Kurdish "safe haven" in oorthern Iraq. But there was oo sign of a pullout in the city, and the Iraqi army and an allied Kurdish factioo appeared in full control.

Iraq captured the city oo Saturday in Saddam Husseio's largest military action since the end of the Gulf War in 1991. The attack sparked alarm io Washington, and President Clinton put US troops in the Gulf

region on high alert. After a Cabinet meetin Baghdad late Sunday, the Iraqi defense minister, Lt. Gen. Sultan Hashim Ahmed, said Saddam had ordered him to withdraw all his

troops from Irbil. There was no immediate sign that this had taken place. Iraqi officials had been saying since Saturday that the troops would

withdraw soon. White House spokesman Mike McCurry was skeptical about the Iraqi statement.

According to earlier reports, a column of Iraqi T-72 tanks was on the move deeper into rehel Kurdish territory yesterday, and apparently was headed for the stronghold of Sulaimaniya, Iraqi opposition forces said, citing reports from the region.

There is no withdrawal. This is an Iraqi invasion of Iraqi Kurdistan," a spokesman for the umbrella opposition Iraqi National Congress (INC) said from London. These are Iraqi tanks, with Iraqi soldiers. This is not inter-Kurdish fighting."

He said the objective appeared (Continued on Page 2)

#### **Israel** beats Bulgaria 2-1 in World Cup qualifier

DEREK FATTAL

ISRAEL'S national soccer side scored one of its best-ever victories in official international competition last night when it beat Bulgaria 2-1 in a World Cup qualifying match at the National Stadium, Ramat Gan.

The Israelis showed true grit and determination in their comeback win, after trailing 1-0 from a Krassimir Balakov penalty to Bulgaria in the second minute. Following that early lapse, the host side played as equals against their heavily favored opponents and even managed to dominate the

game and dictate the pace. Israel equalized through Ronnen Harazi in the 35th minute and took the lead with a second-half penalty taken by captain Tal Banin in the 62nd minute.

Israe are grouped with Russia, Cyprus Bulgaria, Luxembourg in European qualifying Group 5, from which only one team is assured of qualifying for the World Cup finals in France in 1998. Full story Page 10



# PM-Arafat meeting imminent



Foreign Minister David Levy (center), Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (left), and Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Monssa meet at Ras-al-Tin Palace in Alexandria yesterday to discuss the peace process.

## How the secret talks unfolded

DAVID MAKOVSKY

WHEN Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu ushered Terje Larseo, UN coordinator for the territories, into his office on August 14, he songht to hreak the ice with the person most responsible for the 1993 secret Oslo talks that be had railed against while in the opposition.

"Mr. Larsen, I realize this is not the first time that you have been to this office," a source said Netanyahu joked, alluding to the Norwegian's close ties with Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon

It seems early suspicion has given way to Netanyahu's aides began calling Larsen "the Netanyahu. He could not apply any pressure if

tzaddik" (righteous one), reflecting the Norwegian's genuine interest in making peace between Israelis and Palestinians and making sure that the Oslo agreement which he facilitated would not collapse. Larsen, who is based in Gaza, offered something in the Netanyahu government which it lacked: a longstanding relationship with Palestinian Authority Chairman

Yasser Arafat and his top deputies. power and thus constituted no threat to

Israel's views were oot to his liking. Upon the recommendation of his diplomatic adviser Dore Gold, Netanyahu agreed to allow Larsen and his wife, diplomat Mona Iuul, to host a series of quiet, top-level meetings in a bid to reach an agreement with Arafat.

Arafat liked the idea that he would have his own channel to Netanyahu. He would joke with Larsen about "yoor new friend Netanyahu."

Interestingly; Araiat was so protective Moreover, Larsen did not represent a super- Larsen's relationship with Netanyahu that, for tactical purposes, he advised Larsen not to (Continued on Page 3)

## Negotiators said close to reaching understanding

DAVID MAKOVSKY, DAVID RUDGE, and news agencies

A STRING of public statements by senior Israeli officials yesterday made it clear that a meeting between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat would immediately follow the final version of written understandings between the government and the Palestinians.

Israeli and Palestinian oegotiators continued to work on the text of those understandings late last night. Sources close to Arafat said that he wanted the talks to continue non-stop until the understandings are reached.

In Alexandria, after a meeting with Egyptian officials, Foreign Minister David Levy said he expected a "breakthrough" last

"I hope that an agreement will be reached between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority today," Levy said after a meeting with President Hosni Mubarak. "We've done very intensive work which was oot publicized. We've bad very serious discussions oo all subjects with most senior officials within

the Palestinian Authority." Levy told reporters that he hoped a Netanyabu-Arafat meeting would occur as a "natural consequence" of the secret talks.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai indicated to reporters that he expects Netanyahu to meet

Arafat "within days." Netanyahn confirmed he would meet with Arafat, but said the timing was contingent on "developments, and not dates."

As The Jerusalem Post first disclosed yesterday, Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser Dore Gold and Arafat's deputy Mahmoud Abbas have been bolding quiet talks in Tel Aviv since August 13 in bid to end the impasse in the peace talks.

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, meanwhile, hinted that Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin may be released in the near future.

"I think news on this issue will be heard soon," Kahalani told reporters during a visit to the North.

Yassin, 61, a quadriplegic, was sentenced to life imprisonment for hostile activities in 1989. He health is bad and some security experts have argued it would be better for him to be released rather than risk him dying in jail. Last week. Yassin was briefly transferred from Ramle Prison to Assaf Harofeb Hospital with a mild case of poeumonia. He was later returned to the jail.

The written understandings being oegotiated include a Palestinian agreement to make "mutual" changes in plans for the IDF redeployment in Hehroo. paving the way for talks on the details to begin.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said yesterday that Egypt would cancel the regional economic summit scheduled for Cairo in November if Israel did oot pullback from Hebron by

"I cannot imagine that the economic summit would take place (Continued on Page 2)

## Kahalani: Israel should find a way to leave south Lebanon

DAVID RUDGE

ISRAEL should try to find a way to leave south Lebanon, Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani said yesterday during a

visit to the North. Kahalani, who went to an observation point overlooking Lebanon, iold reporters that the time had come to re-examine the

conception of the security zone.

In principle, I believe that
Israel should try to find a way to
leave south Lebanon. I think that pulling out of south Lehanon would be healthy for the Israeli people," said Kahalani.

However, we have to find a way in which there will be an international force in the region which would safeguard Israel's

Kahalani stressed that the IDF's presence in the security zone does not prevent Katyusha rocket attacks on the Galilee, and that it is the role of the border fence in stop infiltration attempts.

I believe that the security zone should be populated by an international force, with us outside," he

In the meantime, Kahalani said the methods used by the IDF to combat attacks by gunmen are the best possible under the circum-

"I would certainly not recom-mend going in with ground forces or expanding the zone, but I do recommend minimizing the cause of friction in this area, while protecting the North and safeguarding IDF soldiers.

"Most soldiers are being killed on the way to positions and oot inside them, which shows that the conception has to be re-exammed," he said.

Kabalani also revealed that a south Lebanon. NAME OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PR

quarter of Lebanon's drug production is finding its way into Israel...
This is a very large amount.
About 90 percent of the drugs coming into Israel are coming from across the Lebanese border. We have in find a way to block

this route," said Kahalani. Meanwhile, the five-oation Grapes of Wrath monitoring committee met at UNIFIL's headquarters in Nakoura, to hear a complaint lodged by Israel over the wounding of two Lebanese civilians by Hizhullah gunfire last

The incident occurred following a clash between Hizbullah gunmen and a Givati Brigade unit near the IDF's Karkum position last Thursday during which St.-Sgt. Amitai Almadon was

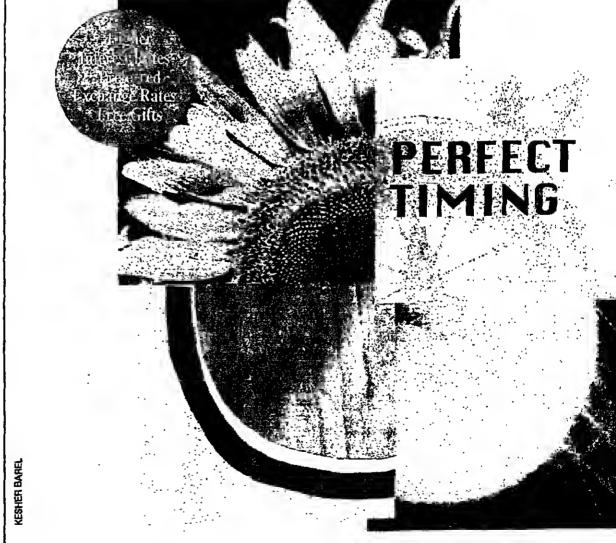
Hizbullah gunmen fired mortars, apparently to help cover the retreat of the squad that had been involved in the gunfight. A num-ber of mortar rounds hit Shiheen

village, wounding the two.

The understandings ban attacks
on civilians oo both sides of the international border.

The monitoring committee, composed of representatives from the US, France, Israel, Syria, and Lebanon, reiterated the importance of protecting the lives of civilians and its commitment to upholding the Grapes of Wrath understandings.

Brig.-Gen. David Tzur, head of Israel's delegation, said the announcement could be viewed as showing understanding of Israel's complaint. He stressed. however, that the main imporrance of the committee was to try and preveot an escalation in



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## Low turnout at Palestinian prayer protest

HAIM SHAPIRO and agencies

ONLY a few hundred Palestinian Christians answered Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's call to flock to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre yesterday for prayers of protest against Israeli policies.

Witnesses said there was no increase in the usual number of Palestinians trying to pass through IDF checkpoints.

Arafat called on Wednesday for Moslems to attend Friday prayers at Jerusalem's Al-Aksa Mosque and Christians to converge yesterday on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Police ringed Jerusalem on Friday, and Palestinians said barely 20,000 Moslems made it to the mosque complex, less than normal for Friday prayers. Yesterday security was still heavy, but bored soldiers

were left leaning on their rifles in the mid-day heat in the Old City. Faisal Husseini, the top PLO official in Jerusalem, dismissed media speculation that the low turnout reflected popular dissatis-faction with Arafat, who has slammed Israel's decision to expand Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

This call was not for all the Palestinian people," Husseini told reporters, after attending services at a Greek Orthodox chapel adjacent to the sacred Christian shrine. He said Arafat's call had been intended only for leaders of the Palestinian community Jerusalem and that the PLO could have mobilized tens of thousands of protesters but had chosen not to escalate tensions.

Even before the event, some Christian leaders indicated that they were not happy with a politically motivated protest at the his-toric church. Metropolitan Timothy, secretary of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, said that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre should not be a place for political

"There is no protest. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, like all churches, is a place for prayer, not



Border policemen relax and spread out across a street near the Church of the Holy Selpulchre yesterday as two Palestinians pass through the barricade.

Christian Embassy said yesterday that countless hiblical references

given, along with the Land of Israel, as an eternal inheritance to

"Attempts by Palestinian liberation theologists to twist Scriptures to serve their political purposes

cannot change this reality," said

## Peres: PM will shake Arafat's hand as a result of pressure, not leadership

LABOR Chairman MK Shimon Peres said yesterday that Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu will meet Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, but as a result of giving in to pressure, rather than a plan or leadership.

Speaking at Labor's executive meeting. Peres depicted Netanyahu as being dragged willy nilly to meet Arafst. "It's obvious Bibi will meet Arafat, and shake

his hand, and smile at him, then call [Egyptian President Hosni] Mubarak to report the meeting, and telephone Jordan's King Hussein to brief him...hut all this will be as a result of pressure, and being dragged into it. None of this will come from planned policy or leadership. And giving in to pressure has a price," he

Peres stressed that the Oslo agreement

MICHAL YUDELMAN

is a state law, since the Knesset approved it, "and the government is not above the law, but subject to it. There should be no hesitation in the government to support the Oslo agreement. They should not be asbarned to support peace. Peace is not a crime." Labor's executive issued a strong

denunciation of the attacks on Supreme Court President Aharon Barak and the threats on his life, and the lives of other judges. It called on the Knesset to do everything in its power to uproot these

The executive meeting was almost prevented, as Labor headquarters workers took over the meeting hall in protest of the decision to fire balf of the apparatus

workers due to the NIS 15 million deficit in the party's hudget.

The deficit was caused by the election defeat and drastic cut in the number of

party MKs. The workers agreed to vacate the meet-

ing room only after MKs Moshe Shahal and Eli Goldschmidt were appointed to negotiate with them over their retirement

#### **NEWS IN BRIEF**

Navy revamps destroyer

The INS Tarshish rejoined the Israel Navy yesterday after undergoing a two-year overhaul during which it was outfitted with the latest home-developed naval warfare systems.

The 61-meter missile cruiser's four diesel engines give it a maximum speed of 31 knots. Control of its eight Harpoon missiles and six Gabriel rockets is done in the command and control center. The renovations were carried out by the Israel Shipyards as well as the Navy Shipyards. Originally launched in 1974, the INS Tarshish sailed to the United States to participate in that country's bicentennial. The Navy said the 480-un vessel would soon be joining its four sister ships.

Water supply to parts of Ramle cut by Mekorot The Mekorot water company vesterday again disrupted the water

supply to parts of Ramle because the municipality owes it some NIS 2 million. The water was turned off for four hours, beginning at 9 a.m. About half the city was affected, as it was during a similar cutoff last week. Mekorot sources said the Rarde municipality has owed the money for several months. A Mekorot spokeswoman said that various repayment plans had been offered to city officials, but were rejected, forcing the company to cut the supply to consumers even though they had paid the municipality for the water they had used.

Settler acquitted of supporting terror group David Balhasan, 44, a resident of Shani in the Hehron Hills, was acquitted yesterday by the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court of charges of supporting a terrorist organization, but was convicted of inciting to rebellion for comments he made following the assassination of

Balhasan had told a foreign TV crew on the day of Rabin's funeral he was "very happy the dictator Rabin is dead," and that he hoped "the Israeli people will fight against the satanic Islam and the Arab rule in the Land of Israel." Sentencing was set for next week. Itim

German defense minister arriving today German Defense Minister Volker Ruhe is scheduled to arrive this afternoon for a three-day visit, as the guest of Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai. He will visit army installations, visit Jerusalem and Eilat, and conduct talks on furthering the connections between

the two countries' defense establishments. During the visit, Ruhe will meet with President Ezer Weizman, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres.Ruhe previously visited here in April 1993.

Baby swallows caustic soda

A 13-month-old baby boy who are caustic soda left on the floor at home was in stable condition at Jerusalem's Bikur Holim Hospital Friday, after doctors treated him with steroids. After initial treatment, he was transferred to pediatric surgery at Hadassah-University Hospital. Today he will undergo a bronchoscopy to see

wi rat if any damage was done to his esophagus and other internal orgams. The baby suffered severe hums on his mouth and swelling on hit lips, with sores on his palate.

#### LANA ALON

née Skikne

passed away or Sunday, September 1, 1996. The funeral will take place at iffar Sava, today,

> Monday, at 2:45 p.nn. M.H.D.S.R.I.P.

The Farrilly

The shloshim in memory of our beloved: HANNAH WEINSTEIN > will be held on Friday, September 6, 1996, at 10:30 a.m. at the Yarkon Cemetery. Please meet the family at the main gate. Husband: Simie Children: Mirlam, Yigal, Ell and familles

## Meretz executive expresses confidence in Dedi Zucker

MICHAL YUDELMAN

MERETZ'S executive yesterday rejected the demand of five members to force MK Dedi Zucker to resign from the Knesset and expressed its confidence in Zucker's statement that the Camera Obscura photography school was not involved in any illegal actions.

The executive convened at Zucker's request and at the demand of the members who had demanded that Zucker resign. The demand followed the Knesset Ethics Committee's ruling that Zucker had taken advantage of his position to secure funds for the school, from which he received payment as chairman of its fundraising association. Both Zucker and the school are being investigated by police.

Zucker, who had also underreported his earnings from outside the Knesset, was fined three month's wages by the Ethics

Zucker defined his actions as a "slip-up" and said that for the past two years a right-wing group has been targeting him and the Camera Ohscura association. Since the affair is being investigated by police, he would not elaborate hut said he hoped to

prove his innocence soon.

Meretz Chairman MK Yossi Sarid said "the Meretz movement is not a family, but not a mafia, either, which semences a member and then punishes him. For this, there are state institutions which will probe, charge, and give their

verdict." Sarid said Meretz shared Zucker's opinion that he had slipped up and for that deserved to be denounced. He said Meretz respects the Ethics Comminee

decision to fine Zucker. "Meanwhile, the police has begun prohing Camera Ohscura to find whether there is a criminal aspect to the affair. Meretz believes Zucker and his version, that there is not. Meretz is certain that the investigation will prove Zucker's innocence. If things transpire otherwise, nobody will have to tell Zucker what he must do," Sarid said.

The group demanding Zucker's resignation maintained that a Meretz MK should not behave like other MKs, and should immediately resign if be is suspected of unethical or illegal conduct.



An Iraqi-Kurd (right) gives the victory sign with other Iraqis during a demonstration in Baghdad yesterday.

(Continued from Page 1) to be Sulaimaniya, which other unconfirmed sources said had already fallen. It is the center for the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The column was last reported near the village of Koi Sanjaq, 60 km. east of Irbil.

Following the Iraqi move, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali announced yesterday he was delaying the deal allowing Baghdad to sell limited amounts of oil to huy food and

Boutros-Ghali said he would postpone deploying "certain per-sonnel who will supervise the implementation" of the oil sales deal, effectively delaying the plan.

"He is following the situation closely, and be is in continuing contact with the United Nations coordinator in Baghdad," the UN statement said. It said all UN per-

sonnel in northern Iraq were safe. Israel is closely watching developments in Iraq, though there are currently no indications that the conflict will spill over into this region, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said.

We are in touch with the US on this matter, as we were [before the

(Continued from Page 1) when withdrawal from Hehron has not happened yet," he said. "In the absence of implementation, it will be a very serious situation. It is impossible to imagine that we can talk about regional cooperation when the peace process is obstructed or paralyzed. It would be illogical, out of

the question."
The understandings being reached between Gold and Abbas also call to increase the number of Palestinians permitted to work in Israel; to permit the Palestinians to huild an airport in Gaza, as long as Israel can make security inspections; and commit the Netanyahu government to negotiate further redeployments in the territories, as mandated by the Oslo II agreement, after the Hebron redeployment is complet-

#### KURDS

fighting broke out] when there were indications [of a conflagration]," Netanyahu told reporters in Jerusalem. "But we are nevertheless taking all necessary precau-

Zalman Shoval, who was ambassador to the US during the Gulf war, said that Iraq's invasion of the Kurdish enclave "proves the worth of agreements in the socalled new Middle East."

For all the importance of the agreements that Israel has signed and may yet sign, Shoval added, the country's security will continue to be dependent almost solely on its military might, on defensihle borders, and on its strategic cooperation with the US.

Foreign Minister David Levy, meanwhile, warned Iraq that it is "playing with fire," adding that the situation is very serious."

"There is a red line that the Iraqi government must not cross. because if it does so, it is playing with fire," Levy told reporters en route to Alexandria, though he did not elaborate on what the "red

Baghdad intervened on behalf of a with Iran. Latest reports from Irbil, long a

said Iraqi security forces are hunttured defectors were said by the opposition to have been executed. Iraqi forces and an allied faction

appeared in full control of Irbil, the main Kurdish city in northern In neighboring Iran, the state-

run Islamic Republic News Agency quoted unidentified "sources close to Iraqi Kurds" as saying Iraqi troops and their Kurdish allies took Sulaimaniya

The report could not be confirmed by independent sources. Earlier reports - also unconfirmed spoke of shelling close to Sulaimaniya, but the official Iraqi News Agency claimed the city was calm.

## **MEETING**

In accompanying verbal under-standings, the Palestinians agree to keep their institutions in Jerusalem closed and Israel agrees to allow Arafat to regularly fly between Gaza and the West

At his press conference with Moussa, Levy denied Palestinian asseroons that the Oslo Accords ban settlement expansion. But, he said, "we do not confiscate lands and we do not build new settle-

The Palestinians maintain the section in the accords requiring no change in the status of the West Bank and Gaza during negotiations amounts to a han on construction in the settlements.

"I want you to take note of what

the minister just said, that Israel is not going to confiscate any more land," Moussa told reporters. "Let us put that on the record. This is very important."

Jon Immanuel contributed to this report.

take action if Saddam doesn't withdraw

**Expert:** 

US to

**DAVID RUDGE** 

THE US will have little choice but to take military action against Iraq if President Saddam Hussein does not withdraw his forces from the Kurdish safe haven in northern Iraq, according to Prof. Amatzia Baram, head of Haifa University's Middle East History department.

"It will not be an easy decision for President Bill Clinton, because he is so tied up with the election campaign," said Baram, in a tele-phone interview from the US, where he is writing a study on the current situation in Iraq for the Washington Institute for Near East

Policy. He insisted that Israel has no reason to fear becoming a target for Saddam Hussein at this stage, but warned that a situation could develop in which Israel might become

involved. "Saddam is busy with the Kurds and with the US and he doesn't have time for us. Furthermore, he is trying to prevent the Americans from using force and therefore he's trying to play it smart," said

"There is one scenario in which we might become involved, although it is very remote. According to the UN arms disposal commission, Saddam still has between six and 16 missiles, yery possibly with non-conventional [chemical or biological] warheads, so a potential threat still exists.

"To get to the point when he would want to use these, however, he would have to be really desperate and literally on the brink of total collapse and we are far from that

"Nevertheless, we could become politically involved if Saddam wins this round; by getting away with his actions and not withdrawing his forces from Irbil without being

"If he succeeds, and continues his actions, he will secure his place in Baghdad for a few more years and again become a hero in the eyes of many Arabs and Moslems.

"In such circumstances, he would be en route to reinstating himself as East. If this happens, and it will if there is no response, the faltering peace process will be wrecked because Saddam Hussein is the

best spoiler in the Middle East. "If he regains prestige, he would immediately resume the position of leader of all the radicals in the Arab world and he would do it much better than the Iranians. This is something I would be very worried about," Baram said.

The Section of

He noted there are factors aside from the upcoming US election that would make Clinton's decision

on a military response difficult. The matter is also complicated PUK forces were thrown back by the fact that one of the Kurdish from Irbil on Saturday, after groups, the Democratic Kurdish Party led by Masud Barazani, has rival group, the Kurdistan forged an alliance with Iraq against Democratic Party (KDP). Iraq the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan said it launched the attack because group led by Jalal Talabani. This the PUK had been cooperating makes the situation much more murky," Baram said.

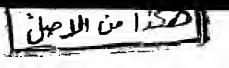
The decision is further complicenter for Kurdish opposition, cated by the fact that Turkey is not keen to allow the US to use its air ing down opponents of President bases for launching attacks against Saddam Hussein. Ninety-six cap- northern Iraq. Turkey has a new government which wants trade

relations with Iraq.
"Nevertheless, I believe that if Saddam does not withdraw his forces from Irbil, as he has promised but has not implemented yet, the US will have no choice but to take some kind of military action. "Economic sanctions of non-implementation of the UN agreement to allow lraq to sell some of its oil would not be enough," said Baram.

Baram insisted that military action against Iraqi forces, either in the Kurdish enclave in the north or in military installations in the cities. would not jeopardize America's 'dual containment" policy aimed at jointly restraining both Iran and Iraq, hy keeping both weak.

"Saddam, even if he were hit, still has enough forces to keep Iran at bay and hold the edge. In fact, the main deterrent for both com tries in the region is the threat of US action if either of them tutaks the status quo," said Baram.

"אמור לחכמה אחותי את" (משלי ונד) A shiur in memory of JUDY KAUFMAN HURWICH 🕾 on the the shloshim of her death will be taught by Rav Ariel Holland (in Hebrew) Wednesday, September 4, 10:10-11:20 a.m. as part of MaTaN's Elui Program. Heichal Shlomo, 58 King George St., 5th floor.



# Behind the scenes of the 'dark channel'

(Continued from Page 1) participate in a meeting he was holding in Gaza with Labor leader Shimon Peres. "I think you should stay out of the picture, as this would not help you with your friend the prime minister." Arafat counseled, according to a source.

action is Saddam doesn't withdraw

He mentioned to visitors who saw him in Gaza 10 days ago that "the contacts with Israel are Larsen con-

LARSEN'S INTEREST in serving as a bridge between the new gov-ernment and the PA stemmed from his fear that the peace process could collapse, simply because nobody in the Netanyahu government knew the members of the PA. Without informal contacts, where relation-ships are formed and trust is built, formal talks, once they began, would founder immediately.

Obviously, the stakes were high. A collapse of the peace process would be devastating for all, including the Palestinian economy, which has suffered damage by the continued closure that Larsen has wilnessed first-hand.

Moreover, the international community would also lose confidence in the peace process, and the hopes of for easing the PA's \$90 million deficit at this Thursday's international donors meeting in Washington would be dealt a very heavy blow.

Larsen found a willing partner in Gold. Introduced by a mutual acquaintance, the two hit it off immediately and began exploring the prospects for an informal channel to get talks with the Palestinians going. This would later be called "the dark channel," since references to the meetings were colored gray in a flow chart presented to

Netanyahu. Arafat soon signed on. Lacking a prime minister who would even meet him, this was his best hope for progress, one that might even lead to the forging of a relationship with Netanyahu.

On August 6, Larsen and Itul sounded out Arafat and some of his top deputies. At a meeting at Juul and Larsen's Tel Aviv home referred to below as Juul's home. since Larsen is officially based in Gaza and is home with his wife only on weekeods - two key Palestinians expressed interest, as did US Ambassador Martin Indyk, who attended the session.

Top Palestinian negotiator Mahmoud Abbas was optimistic. He had met Larsen years ago, and was pivotal in urging Larsen, then a head of a Norwegian think-tank, to facilitate the original Oslo talks.

a key moment occurred when Mohammed Dahlan, Gaza head of PA Preventive Security, the other Palestinian in attendance. declared, according to a source, "If Palestinian living standards rise, I can guarantee there will be no attacks against Israel for the next three months."

One could see an implicit threat in this promise. If Dahlan could guarantee there would be no attacks against Israelis if times got better, he was also hinting that he could not or would not halt attacks if the situa-

YET, FOR ALL the optimism that night, there was also concern.

On the same day, Foreign Minister David Levy had threatened to resign if be was not given a bigger role in peace talks. There was concern among the Palestinians that the government was entering a state of inner confusion, and that there would be nobody with whom to negotiate.

On August 11, after several days of stalemate with Levy, Netanyahu decided in a meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and top aides that Levy - who was then attending a wedding in New Jersey - could not be allowed to hold up the works and agreed in principle that contacts with the Palestinians should continue.

Gold had been telling Netanyahu about Larsen, and urged the premier to meet him to give his blessing to

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informal talks. By this point, cabinet secretary Danny Naveh and Netanyahu's lawyer Yitzhak Molcho - who had personally delivered messages to Arafat - had also met Larsen. All three favored informal talks. Another Netanyahu aide, communications director David Bar-Illan, was subsequently to sit in on some meetings with Larsen.

On August 13, Larsen, Gold, and Abbas wanted to begin. While Netanyahu had agreed to the talks in principle, he had not yet specifically authorized talks hosted by the Norwegian couple. Gold believed the prime minister would be con-Vinced.

At 4 p.m., Gold asked Larsen to sel up a meeting with Abbas for that evening. Yet, it would only be two hours later that Netanyahu okayed the meeting. "Let's go for it," he reportedly said.

Yet, even then, the talks were described as exploratory. Abbas canceled his plans to come to Tel Aviv that evening.

At the two-and-a half-hour meeting that evening were Larsen, Juul, Gold, Netanyahu's intelligence aide Col. Shimon Shapiro, Abbas, and Dahlan.

Indyk was on vacation, but in any case Netanyahu did not want American participation, feeling it would somehow put pressure on Israel.

DESCRIBED BY one participant as "a Palestinian prince," due to his aristocratic demeanor, Abbas brought Juul foil-wrapped musk from Dubai and gave the same gift to Gold for his wife Ofra.

After the participants loosened their ties, they gathered in the sitting room, where mineral water, fruit, nuis, coffee, and tea were placed on the table.

"We must set rules of the game," Larsen reportedly said. This is a deep-cover back-channel. There can be no leaks to the press. We are here to discuss problems and put things on the table. There can be no gameplaying. Both Mona and I are at your disposal. You indicate to us if you want us to vanish into the next room. If Abu Mazen [Abbas] and Dore want to have a tele-a-tele, we can be go-between and/or make suggestions, or we can go into the next room. It's your initiative."

While making it clear that he did not want to interfere in substantive one-on-one talks between Abbas and Gold, Larsen said: "You must do package deals."

Quid pro quos were crucial. Without saying what he thought the contours of a package deal should be, he did say the elements of discussions between the sides included "economics, security, Hebron, further redeployments, and final sta-

Larsen added that both the Palestinians and the Israelis have a stake in improving the economic sit-

"If the economic situation deteriorates, this will threaten Palestinian political stability and Israeli security," he reportedly said. "The donor community and the US will be happy if you have economic measures in advance of the September 5 donors meeting. It would be good to have a short-term package, because ome is running out, so try to make

this work." Interestingly, while Gold and Abbas subsequently met alone in a corner of the room, dealing with what Israel viewed as objectionable Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem, Dahlan and Shapiro found themselves talking as well. Abbas and Gold spoke in English. But Dahlan speaks better Hebrew than English, due to his time in Israeli jails in the 1980s. He and Shapiro spoke in

ON AUGUST 14, Larsen held his first meeting with Netanyahu. The session was attended by Gold, Shapiro, Naveh, and the premier's military aide, Maj.-Gen. Ze'ev

Livne. Netanyahu liked Larsen's call for a package deal with the Palestinians. During the election campaign, he



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Former chief of staff Dan Shomron, head of the steering committee on Palestinian issues, and Palestinian Authority Minister Saeb Erekat, who is leading the Palestinian team holding talks with Israel, during discussions in Tel Aviv last week.

had never been a Palestinian quid for the Israeli quo. Israel must get something out of the peace talks, he said, and not just give, as he felt the Labor government had done.

Larsen said that it would be too unwieldy to go for one huge political package involving final borders, but rather the talks should be "broken up into smaller packages." Netanyahu nodded in agreement.

Larsen said he believed the premier could placate his constituents and resolve the issue of Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem, if Israel was forthcoming on other issues.

Netanyahu objected, "I am not doing this due to domestic polices," he reportedly said. "I just want those institutions closed. There were no PA institutions mentioned in Oslo. Closing those institutions is a prerequisite to any deal."

In what might be described as the non-deal-deal, Larsen said the PA might agree to first close the offices, but it needed to know what it would get in return.

After Larseo left, Netanyahu asked his aides what the Norwegian's interest in the negotiations was. They said that from their meetings with Larsen, they were convinced that he had no ulterior motives, but just wanted to ensure that the process he began in Oslo did not collapse\_

does not want to see it go down the with Netanyahu, Gold, Naveh, and

FOR THE TALKS to succeed. Larsen felt he needed to better understand Arafat's priorities. During a Gaza meeting with Arafat on August 15, Arafat reportedly said: "I tell you, Larsen, the first issue is my helicopters."

He complained about the fact that he needed approval each time be flew between Gaza and the West Bank, and that be was only permitted to fly in Egyptian helicopters. He wanted permission to fly his

The issue of helicopters was not just one of Arafat's dignity, but an indispensable vehicle for legitimizing his rule over the West Bank cities, and not being seen as ruling

only in Gaza.

The second issue Arafat raised was the Dahaniya airport in Gaza. This would also be a symbol of

frequently complained that there Palestinian rights, and a landing work in Israel. Netanyahu said in place for "my choppers." Arafat said to obtain this, he was willing give Israel "Rafah rules," that is Israel could inspect incoming and outgoing passengers and cargo, as it does at the Rafah and Allenby Bridge crossings.

Arafat said his next priority was to have Israel admit "150,000 workers" by January, to improve the economic situation. It is estimated that every 10,000 workers add \$20 million in revenue to the PA on an annual basis.

The last item that Arafat mentioned was Hebron. He said that he would like this resolved by end of August, but was willing to accept a "time line" showing when the issue would finally be resolved. Arafat expressed confidence that the Netanyahu government was only seeking "cosmetic changes" to the redeployment that was agreed upon with Labor, but realized it was important to Netanyahu that this be discussed.

On issue of Jerusalem, Arafat indicated a willingness to close down the three PA offices there, as long as there was a quid pro quo. However, he could not countenance Netanyahu making major political capital out of such a Palestinian concession, as this would cause him domestic problems.

"He was the father of Oslo, and he ON AUGUST 16, Larsen again met Molcho. It became clear was a problem with Hebron. Netanyahu said he considered the issue "fundamental," suggesting he was interested in more than "cosmetic changes" in redeployment. This suggested that, because of time pressure, the actual discussions with the Palestinians over the scope of a Hebron pullback might have to take place after the September 5 donors

> In short, a written set of understandings reached before September 5 could call for "mutual changes" in the deal, which would be worked out together and not imposed unilaterally by Israel, but the substance of the deal would have to wait.

> impressed upon Netanyahu the importance of Israel's expelling 100,000 illegal foreign workers, thereby sending a signal to the Palestinians that there would be room for more of them to

principle that he would be willing to increase the number of workers allowed into Israel, but did not specify a number.

While Netanyahu expressed interest in holding further meetings with the Palestinians, the talks were once again put on hold, when Levy returned to Israel on August 18. Netanyahu and Levy had to conduct their own peace talks before deciding on how to make peace with the Arabs.

In a bid to end their impasse, Netanyahu agreed to Levy's request that he appoint former chief of general staff Dan Shomron head of a steering committee on Palestinian issues. But Levy did not object to the quiet talks continuing. It seems, though it cannot be confirmed, that Netanyahu agreed to keep Levy informed on the progress of the

ON AUGUST 21, Netanyahu approved another round of talks at Juul's apartment the following day. Larsen, Juul, Abbas, Gold, and Shapiro attended. Due to a mix-up, Dahlan missed the meeting.

Arafat's planned meeting with Labor Party leader Shimon Peres that evening was a point of friction during the session. The Palestinians were upset that Netanyahu did not expedite Arafat's request to allow his helicopter to fly from Gaza to Ramallah.

Arafat was convinced this mus have been a deliberate effort to humiliate him. Officials in the Prime Minister's Office not involved in the "dark channel" insisted it was an administrative foul-up. While Netanyahu insisted on personally approving every Arafat request for a flyover, they said he had approved this flight by midday, but by then Arafai had switched the Peres meeting to Gaza. The Peres meeting was also on the

Israelis' minds. Netanyahu had publicly warned the Palestinians not to think they could negotiate through a member of the opposition. But this had apparently not occurred to the Palestinians, who are fully aware that Netanyahu is running the govemment and that it would be futile to try to negotiate with Peres.

During the talks, it was made clear that Arafat was "meeting with an old friend," thereby disabusing the

Israelis of the notion that he felt said that he was willing to respond talks with Peres could be a negotiat-

Abbas agreed that the Jerusalem institutions would be closed and gave verbal assurances that Jibril Rajoub's Preventative Security Service would no longer operate inside Jerusalem.

The fact the assurance was verbal allowed Netanyahu to claim it was an unlinked concession, since he insisted there be no quid pro quo for a violation. This served the Palestinians as well, since they did not want something in writing that could have negative domestic fall-

GOLD REPORTEDLY found Abbas very politically astute, with a sense of what was politically possible both for the Netanyahu government and for Arafat. He seemed to share a liking for Gold, He would say, "I can do business with Gold."

While Gold was being criticized in the Israeli media for not being forthcoming enough toward the Palestinians, he was actually urging that a deal be reached before the donors' meeting. The understand-ings would be titled a "non-paper" diplomade jargon for unsigned agreements - which would be the basis for future progress.

Gold also pressed Abbas that either he or Arafat meet with Shorrion, formally the head of the steering committee which was to conduct official talks. Netanyahu had just appointed Shormon, and Gold wanted to ensure that he was treated property.

But Arafat and Abbas had barely heard of Shornron, and they did not want anything which would interfere with the private channel. Arafat rejected the request, and said that Shomron should meet with Saeb Erakat, his Palestinian counterpart. Within a week, a short meeting and photo opportunity was scheduled for the two. Then Shomron, and later Erakat, were invited to join the quiet talks.

Netanyahu continued to resist US participation in the talks. However, everyone believed it was important that the Clinton administration. which has been so supportive of the peace process, be properly briefed. Israel also wanted to maintain

close ties with Egypt, which views itself as the champion of the Palestinian cause. While a briefing was scheduled before President Hosni Mubarak's threat to cancel the November economic summit in Cairo, this gave added impetus to holding a meeting.

Moreover, it was important to hear the US and Egyptian assess-Syria

Therefore, Gold and Shapiro flew to Paris on August 26, where they beld talks with US special Middle East peace coordinator Dennis Ross and Egyptian national security adviser Osama Baz. Larsen also flew to Paris to discuss the Palestinian track. To keep the talks quiet and away from the media, they were held at the residence of the American deputy chief of mission.

A MAJOR question was whether the "non-paper" would outline the scope of Hebron redeployment. If it did not, Ross raised the possibility of a Netanyahu-Arafat meeting.

Assuming the Palestinians agreed to the non-paper, Ross felt a Netanyahu-Arafat meeting would serve to normalize the peace talks, ending the period of limbo. After President Ezer Weizman

to an Arafat appeal and meet the PA chairman, Netanyahu changed his public approach to such a meeting. While he had previously said he would only "consider" it if national security were at stake, he told a television interviewer that he

Larsen agreed that the Netanyahu statement should be seen as an

would definitely meet Arafat, but

the meeting needed to be "substan-

While Gold found the idea possible, he swatted down informal proposals that a handshake occur at the White House with Clinton in the background. He felt such symbolism would be misplaced, since it would inevitably be compared to the famous 1993 handshake between Arafai and Yitzhak Rabin, and since the media was bound to say that Netanyahu was seeking to help Clinton's reelection bid

Just as things appeared to be going well, there was a crisis. On August 27, Juni phoned her husband. in Paris to say that Arafat was furious about several events that he viewed as deliberate humiliations. especially after be agreed to close Palestinian offices.

Just after Arafai closed the offices, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai announced new coostruction in the territories; a Palestinian club was demolished by the Jerusalem Municipality; a Beduin tribe was ordered out of its encampment near Ma'aleh Adumim; and Arafat's helicopter was kept circling over Tel Aviv for 40 minutes while en route to Ramallah.

Though it was after 2 a.m., Ross and Larsen urgently sought Gold so he could do something, especially since Abbas was saying Arafat would not permit any more meetings due to these events. Unfortunately, they could not locate Gold, since the Prime Minister's Office had sought to save a few dollars by putting him in an inexpensive hotel had no night operator manning the desk to put calls through.

The following morning, Gold was informed of the crisis. He phoned Netanyahu to obtain an explanation he could convey to Abbas. 'Finish the non-paper as soon as possible." he was told, and he drafted a text on the way back from Paris.

Gold realized that a direct approach needed to be made to Arafat, who had to be convinced that no snub was intended. A threepart approach was decided upon Ross would call Arafat; Larsen would see Arafat Molcho would dring a letter or Netanyahu to Arafat. Arafat's okay was needed not just

to restart the back channel, but he had to be made to understand that a meeting between him and Netanyahu would be the best way to follow up on the understandings, with discussions on the particulars of a Hebron pullback to follow later. This point was made by Ross on the phone, and reinforced in person. Both Molcho and Larsen went to

see Arafat in Ramallah 'last Thursday. Molcho apologized about the helicopters. They urged him to let the meeting planned for that evening go on, so the non-paper could be completed. When Larsen asked Arafat if he would be willing to meet Netanyahu after the understandings are reached, Arafat replied: "Why not?"

The "dark channel" talks have continued since then.



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## Chechnyan peace deal hangs in doubt

Yeltsin withholds approval of pact okayed by rebels

Yeltsin, who is vacationing at a

hunting resort outside Moscow,

Lebed worked oot with Prime

Minister Viktor Chernormrydin

and other senior officials on

Chemomyrdin, speaking in the Volga River city of Nizhny Novgorod yesterday, did oot com-

"We oeed to have courage,

endurance and patieoce. We need

to continue to move forward, hut

oot endanger Russian interests,"

Chemomyrdin said he and Lebed would meet tomorrow to

Chechen leader Zelimkhan

Yandarbiyev, who hailed the pact

right after its signing, was more

subdued yesterday.
Calling it a "move toward

Russian forces of "launching

provocations aimed at jeopardiz-ing the agreement," Interfax

All previous accords to end the

his political reforms early in 1990.

statute books but the constitution-

al court has ruled that it cannot be

carried out in terms of the coun-

try's new democratic constitution.

try's first all-race elections in

April 1994, has until now opposed

capital punishmeot, But grass-

roots pressure for it to be reim-

posed has gathered pace in recent

months as violent crime rages

tioo also had to be tightened.

The ANC, which won the couo-

The death penalty is still on the

he accused unspecified

Thursday.

ne said

S.Africa to reconsider

death penalty

discuss the deal.

meet on the changes.

A PEACE deal for breakaway Chechnya hung in doubt yesterday as President Boris Yeltsin withheld his key approval of the pact, signed by Russia's security chief and rebel leaders, to end the 21-

month war. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Viktor Chemomyrdin stopped short of endorsing the plan yester-day hut said, "I'm convinced

we're on the right track," the Interfax news agency reported. Scattered clashes were reported across the ravaged mountainous republic yesterday.

But in other parts of Chechnya, the peace process moved forward. Chechen rehels released 10 Russian prisoners in Gudermes, some 40 km east of Grozny, the Russian military command said. Russian national security chief

Alexander Lebed and top sepa-ratist commander Asian Maskhadov signed a breakthrough agreement yesterday declaring an end to the war, which has killed more than 30,000 people. But hours later, Yeltsin cast

doubt on the document's validity, saying it needed "additional evaluation and assessment." The peace deal needs the

approval of Yeltsin, who sent troops into Chechnya in December 1994 to crush its iodependence

Yeltsin spokesman Sergei Yastrzhembsky said the president was awaiting a detailed report

CAPE TOWN (Reuter) - South

Africa's ruling African National

Coogress is to consider reinstating

the death penalty in view of a wave of violent crime that is

engulfing the country, Justice Minister Dullah Omar said yester-

Omar, summing up after a two-day meeting of ANC leaders oo crime, told delegates:

The view of the summit is that

the ANC, as the leading liberation

force and democratic force in our

country, representing the will of

the people, should not be afraid to reassess its position with regard to

the death penalty.

The summit has taken the posi-

tion that the national executive

committee (NEC) should as a matter of urgency review the whole

question of the death penalty and

if it is necessary the whole policy

war have failed. But this one ven-DAVE CARPENTER tures further than the others on the GROZNY key issue of Chechnya's political status, committing hoth sides to resolving the question by Dec. 31, from Lebed, so that government experts could examine the docu-

> Chechnya wants iodependence from Russia, which Moscow has said it will never allow.

has distanced himself from Lebed But it wasn't clear whether the since putting him in charge of the Chechen conflict on Aug. 10. Yastrzhemhsky said Lebed and document alters Chechnya's current status, or whether it outlines a mechanism for the decision on Maskhadov had made changes to the peace plan from the version Chechnya's sovereignty.

It calls for a joiot Russian-Checheo commission to be created hy Oct. I to fight crime and rehuild Chechnya's shattered economy.

Meanwhile, nearly all remaining Russian and separatist forces pulled out from Grozny, leaving the charred and crumbling capital in the hands of joint Russian-Checheo patrols as part of an ear-

lier military truce.

Elated Chechens, setting aside coocerns about the political impasse with Russia, danced and shouted for joy in villages west of Grozny as convoys of rebel fighters drove out with fists upthrust victoriously.

Chechens also turned over an armed personnel carrier seized in an attack oo Russian troops earlier this month, when rebels seized Grozny in some of the worst fight-

But peace remained uncertain.



Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri casts his vote at a Beirut polling station yesterday.

## Beirut votes for parliament

**NZ** election

WELLINGTON (Reuter) - The radical right and their counterparts on the left fired the first formal shots in New Zealand's election campaign yesterday in a poll that will give voters more diverse

Campaigning began as a new opinion poll by TVI showed support for the ruling conservative National Party falling four points to 35 percent, its lowest level for

unabated with police apparently powerless to bring it under con-New Zealanders go to the polls on October 12 in their first elec-The constitution can be amendtion under a German-style mixed proportional system that has replaced the British-style, firsted by a two-thirds majority vote io

Addressing the weekend conferpast-the-post system. eoce, Omar said action had to be The right-wing Association of Coosumers and Taxpayers (ACT) taken to address the socio-economic causes of crime but legislawas the first of more than 20 parties to formally launch its cam-"We want to send out a clear sigpaign with a platform of cutting

> tually abolishing income tax.
> Despite heavy financial backing from big business, ACT has only made a moderate impact on the polls, with support in the TV1 poll

The big winner in the poll was Labor, up five points to 19 percent from a record low of 14 perceot, while the economic nationalist New Zealand First was steady on

Parties need at least five percent support hefore they win seats in the 120-seat parliament.

Alliance, a formal grouping of five parties, falling by one point to 12 percent, less than half that of

Alliance campaign in an Auckland movie theater screening Mission: Impossible. The packed theater was roused

hy Pacific Island drummers and dancers in multi-ethnic themes before Anderton was led in to the music of 2001: A SpaceOdyssey. "We have to restore to New

the capital as Beirutis voted yesterday to fill 19 seats io the 128-member Parliament.

The vote is the third leg of a five-stage ballot. Elections are being held on five consecutive Sundays and all the Parliament seats will be

filled wheo the vote is completed Sept. 15. This election will decide your fate for the next four years. Let the people arbitrate,"

BEIRUT (AP) - Prime Minister Rafik Hariri

sought a strong mandate for his plan to rebuild

Hariri said as he cast his hallot. Hariri, prime minister since 1992, campaigned oo his own record of rehuilding Lehanon, "We've done a lot. We hope to get a mandate to continue," he said in a televised

About 4,000 Lebanese army troops patrolled the streets in armored vehicles and trucks to head off any clashes between political oppo-

Entertainment centers were ordered closed and sale of alcobol banned. But election day took on a festive atmosphere in a city accustomed to settling scores by the bullets rather than ballots.

Activists drove through the streets, honking as they navigated the city's narrow streets, waving posters of their candidates and blaring speeches from loudspeakers.

About 120 candidates cootested the 19 seats

in Beirut and about 379,000 people from 25 ethnic and religious groups were eligible to vote. The polls were closing at 5 p.m. Official results were expected today.

As expected, the first two rounds of voting in north and central Lebanon saw the election of pro-Syrian candidates for the half-Christian,

half-Moslem legislature, Syria, which has 40,000 troops in Lebanon, dominates the country's politics.

The Beirut election includes three Sunni Moslem political heavyweights - Hariri, former Prime Minister Selim Hoss and Tammam Salam, the son of ex-premier Saeb Salam.

Under Lebanon's sectarian system of government, the prime minister is a Sunni, the state presideot a Maronite Catholic. The 19 seats in Beirut are divided to reflect

the city's religious and ethnic makeup. Moslem fundamentalists such as the Shute Hezbollah and the Sunni Habashi and Islamic Group factions are also fielding candidates in Beirut. Hariri, a self-made billionaire from southern

70 W - 7

Lebanon, is regarded an outsider to Beirut polities but his reconstruction plan to restore the capital's prewar glory has earned him the support of many. Hariri is expected to win a seat easily. But he'

has urged voters to elect 16 other ticket-mates to help him proceed with his multimillion-doilar reconstruction program.
Irregularities included misspelling of names.

the use of the ideotities of dead people to cast votes and voters' complaints that they were not allowed to cast their ballots because someone else had voted for them earlier in the day.

Officials said five people had been detained on other allegations of attempted fraud.

#### position of the ANC should be nal from the ANC that we cannot reviewed. No one has been executed in allow criminality to prevail in our South Africa since the then presisociety. We want to ensure our dent F.W. de Klerk imposed a women, our girls, can live in safety," he said. moratorium on hangings as part of

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The poll showed support for the Leader Jim Anderton opened the

Zealanders trust in the political process and in their political leadership," he said.

## Norway, Russia in crash site row

SPITZBERGEN (Reuter) -Norway and Russia settled a dispute over jurisdiction yesterday and agreed to conperate in recovering the 141 victims of a Russian plane crash on this Norwegian Arctic island.

Officials from both sides said they agreed the operation would continue under the leadership of Norway, which governs the coalricb island, after two Russian rescue workers were handcuffed and detained by Norwegian police.

The incident delayed Russian help in the difficult operation in tough terrain and unpredictable weather by about 24 hours and illustrated distrust between NATO member Norway and the former Communist superpower is rooted in the Cold War.

Russia and Norway share the island's coal resources under a treaty dating back to the 1920s.

"The Russian rescue workers will be put to work again on the crash side," Spitzbergen governor Ann-Kristin Olseo told a news conference. "It is accepted that Norway leads the operation."

Olsen ordered the two Russian mountaineers to be detaioed after they were found off limits on the mountain into which the TU-154 slammed last Thursday. They were

released after explaining they had not meant to violate Norwegian authority.

Ironically, the Russians found the voice recorder of the doomed plane before being hauled off the plateau. Norwegian rescue workers last Friday recovered the flight recorder. The boxes, which could help explain the accident, will now be flown to Moscow for examination.

Russian Deputy Crisis Minister Aleksander Moskalets said the 11member Russian team of mountaineers, who were ordered hy Norwegian authorities to leave their base camp at the crash site the day before, would return in the afternoon to resume work.

He said he accepted Norway's explanation that the men would not have been held had Norwegian police realized they were rescue

The episode is over and forgotten. I will refrain from taking diplomatic steps," Moskalet said.
"Common sense shall prevail in this investigation.

Norwegian police investigator Ame Bjoerkaas said the Russian monntaineers would be assigned to "climb up and hring down the dead who are hanging near the top of the slope. We can see those bodies from the valley."

## Charles, Camilla face uphill battle

LONDON (AP) - Prince Charles may be determined to get his subjects to accept his relationship with the woman who broke up his marriage with Princess Diana - but he faces an uphill struggle, a poll published yesterday showed.

And one report said that until they can make their relatiooship more public, Charles and Camilla Parker Bowles are stealing momeots together in the hack seats of a movie theater.

Charles made bis first public appearance since his divorce last week, attendiog church with other members of the royal family near Balmoral Castle in Scotland where they are vacationing. Wearing kilts, he looked relaxed and waved to hundreds of royal watchers oear Crathie Church

The News of The World published separate photos yesterday of Diana and property developer Christopher Whalley leaving the Harbor Club, an exclusive gym in southwest Londoo. The paper said they left withio secoods of each other on Saturday. Britain's tabloids reported in December that Diana had been dating the wealthy bachelor since 1994. The MORI poll, published in

The Mail on Sunday newspaper, showed that 51 percent of Britons believe Charles should succeed bis mother, Queen Elizabeth II as

monarch as things stand right now.

Those who thought he should abdicate in favor of the next in line, his 14-year-old son Prince William, numbered 3g perceot. Another 11 percent said they did

But those numbers sharply reversed when respondents were asked bow they would react if he married Parker Bowles, with whom he conducted affairs on and off throughout his 15-year marriage to Diana. Those who said he should give

op the throne if they married numbered 54 percent, and those who said he should remain were 40 percent; 6 percent said they did not know. The phone poll of 605 adults across Britain had a margin of error of 4.1 percent. The estimation of Charles as

making a good king has dropped from g2 percent in 1991 - before the revelations of his marital indiscretions were revealed - to 44 percent in the latest poll. Asked if their opinion of Charles

had failen in recent years, 52 percent said yes, 43 percent said no, and 2 perceot did not know.

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## Seven drown in visit to Smith boys' memorial

UNION (AP) - Seven people, including four children, drowned in South Carolina's John D. Long Lake while visiting a memorial to Susan Smith's two murdered sons, authorities said yesterday.

Ten people were in the van, which had its lights on to see the granize memorial Saturday night, Union County Sheriff Howard Wells told Five people got out to lonk at the memorial, leaving the four children

and an adult inside, said Mike Willis, a spokesman for the state Natural Resources Department, which sent divers to the scene. The van rolled down the ramp and under the water, and two additions

dove in to help, Willis said. Three adults and four childreo, including a 4-month-old baby drowned; five of the dead were from one family. The bodies were all recovered by morning.

The ramp was the one that Ms. Smith parked on before seeding her of into the lake with her sons strapped inside io 1994. Ms. Smith was sentenced in July 1995 to life in prison for killing her children, 3-year-old Michael and 14-month-old Alex. She will be alightle for parole in 2025. For nine days that fall, Ms. Smith insisted the

boys were car-jacked and begged tearfully on national television for Har Nof Gardens, Jerusalem

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## The price of true freedom was true hell

The Jerusalem Post Monday, September 2, 1996

**EMILY HAUSER** 

HE life of Marianne Faithfull could serve as a symbol of Western society as it has developed since those years we loosely call "the '60s."

There was the flowering promise of a beautiful, uninhibited young Marianne; her explosion onto the world scene in the shadow of Mr. 60s birnself, Mick Jagger, her horrific decline into heroin addiction; and her steady, white-knuckled return to the land of the living over the past two decades, marked by critically acclaimed albums and a brutally honesi autobiography — much as the a Western world as a whole got drunk on the potential of freedom, and then had to learn to pay the price and move on. Even

Mick Jagger is a grandfather now. Yet today, Faithfull is in Israel as a representative not only of the age of flower power and its consequences, but of the entire century. On lour in support of her recently regased disc 20th Century Blues, the 49-year-old Faithfull will perform what she calls "an Everling in the Weimar Republic" twice (tonight in Jerusalem and on Wednesday, in Tel Aviv).

The album and its accompanying concerts are made up almost entirely of songs penned by German composer Kurt Weill, the man who captured the decadent, world-weary spirit of those scant 15 years between the end of World War 1 and the rise of Hitler. Yet, as the Noel Coward-penned title track reveals, the ennui of that time was not exclusive to it, but rather became an identifying characteristhe of the millennium's final 100

Indeed, the choice of such classic material by a woman known better for her rock 'n' roll credentials is not as surprising as it may seem on the surface. Her strained, painful

voice breathing out the words to the despairingly playful "Alabama Song," the album's opening track ("Show us the way to the next whiskey bar, oh don't ask why, oh don't ask why"), has the sound of truth and familiarity to it. This is a road down which Marianne Faithfull has traveled. Note that her own "Broken English" (title track to her 1979 release) was inspired by no less than German terrorist Ulrike Meinhof.
"I identified with Meinhof,"

Faithfull once said. "The same blocked emotions that turn some people into junkies turn others into terrorists... 'I won't have it! I won't stand for it! This is totally unacceptable!' A form of idealism that leads down different paths." On the track, she sings: "What are you fighting for? It's not my security... It's not

Faithfull's interest in Weill began in 1985, when she (along with the likes of Sting and Tom Waits) contributed a track to a compilation of Weill's works put together by producer Hal Willner.

Introduced to the composer's The Seven Deadly Sins by Allen Ginsburg while at the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poets in the summer of 1987, Faithfull's interest developed into an ambition to perform more of Weill's work.

This she undertook for the first ome in 1992, when she played the role of Pirate Jenny in The Threepenny Opera, staged at the Gate Theater in Dublin. Finally, in 1994, she performed her "Evening in the Weimar Republic" for the first time, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. This concert saw Faithfull combining Weill's work with that of others which she felt captured the time and atmosphere in which he wrote.

For a brief tour in 1995, Faithfull



Faithfull: A woman who has been through the depths of pain aid lived to tell the tale.

attempted to split her concerts in half, performing her "Weimar Republic" material, and then bringing out the older, more familiar tunes. Unhappy with the results of this pairing, she has since eliminated most of the show's latter half, playing only the occasional Faithfull standard such as "When Tears Go By" -- "so that [the audi-

ence] doesn't go away disapponted." It is perhaps not all that surprising that a woman who hasgone down to the bottom of humar existence through heroin, and savived to tell the tale in a successfu career comeback, would be draw to the real agony and sharp ynicism expressed in the songs of 20th Century Blues.

This finds one of its best expressions in the words to "Illusions," by Frederich Hollanender, one of the few non-Weill compositions on the album: "They were lovely illusions," Faithfull sings, "but they just wouldn't come true, slightly used, just like you.... I would sell them all for a penny, they make pretty souvenirs,"

## Opera for the people

N December 12 the curtain will rise on a new kind of operatic experience in Vienna en route to the major cities of Europe. And when the lights dim and the orchestra begins to play the overture to Mozart's The Magic Flure). Rafael Brown will be smiling. Because it will he the first time that the Israeli-born Brown, who now makes his home in a picturesque German village, will be actually producing his own opera production.

Brown has been working as a ctassical music/opera impresario and producer for several years now. He is responsible for every tour of the Arena di Verona company. In fact, he was supposed to bring the entire Verona force to Jerusalem in a few weeks for a fully-staged production of Verdi's Nabucco at Jerusalem's Sultan's Pool but the production, which was planned as part of the Jerusalem 3000 celebrations, was canceled.

But if Brown has it his way, the new Magic Flute will come to Tel Aviv in a couple of years.

From bis office in Germany, Brown explains that "I realized the time has come to produce grand opera. I'm talking about popular operas that will be presented in buge sport halls. Within the next four years there are 60 performances planned of this Magic Flute throughout Europe," from Oslo to Geneva, from Rotterdam to Zurich and from Hamburg to Berlin. Brown has engaged the best

operatic forces around for the pro-

ject. The director is Giuliano Montaldo, who works regularly in Verona. The designs are by Professor Ernst Fuchs from Vienna and the lighting design is by another Verona artist, Paolo Mazzon. The conductor will be Ralf Weikert, who will lead the English Chamber Orchestra and the Prague Philharmonic Choir. And there are more Israelis involved in the produccon as well. The mime direcoon is by Yoram Boker and the sound design necessary for such big halls is done by Asher Bitansky in collaboration with Terry Saunders from London. Brown explains that when The Magic Flute "was first produced in 1791 it was titled a big German opera. At the time Schikaneder [the tibrettist who also played the role of Papageno] already used the latest stage and set constructions with flying objects and magic elements. He used monkeys, lions and snakes in motion and showed splendid scenes in the style of the grand

Brown began working on this project three years ago. In 1994 he spent many hours with Fuchs and Montaldo and at the end of 1995 we worked 10 days in a computer with the help of a 3-D studio where with the help of a 3-D computer-simulation it was possible to study the technique of the stage and the set."

Fuchs's original designs are now being realized by architect Rinaldo Olivieri, and "a static calculations engineer realizes the steel construc-tion of the cupola as well as the hydraulic system and motors inside the stage.

Brown has already signed a dream cast for the first set of per-formances in Vienna and Munich at the end of 1996, where each role will be double or triple cast because the performances happen day after day. Among the performers are Hellen Kwon as the Queen of the Night, Angela Maria Blasi as Pamina, Deon van der Walt as Tamino, Ferdinand Seiler as Monostatos, Paara Burchuladze and Evgeny Nesterenko as Sarastro and Andreas Schmidt as Papageno. And as a curiosity renowned bass Theo Adam will appear as the speaker. "He heard about the proiect and contacted us. I'm very happy about it."

This Magic Flute could very well reach the Yad Eliahu sports arena in Tel Aviv in 1998, as part of the celebradons of the 50th anniversary of Israel, "I really want this to happen. It is yet to be confirmed but we are checking about it."

Jinks in

High C

HELEN KAYE

Aviv Performing Arts Center on

and it was so successful that it will

become an annual event.

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there, dressed to the nines,

because in Europe, the opera ball

is usually the event of the season.

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ets cost NIS 400 and the proceeds

will go for NIO youth programs.

Party goers will bave cham-

The New Israeli Opera threw its

Saturday night.

ROMANTIC cruise, opera

style, is the theme for this race of f-

## Slowboiled action on the bayou

FILM REVIEW **ADINA HOFFMAN** 

**HEAVEN'S PRISONERS** 

Directed by Phil Joanou, Screenplay by Harley Peyton and Scott Frank, Based on the book by James Lee Burke. Hebrew title: Asirei Gan Eden. 132 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew Swilles. Parental guidance very strongly

Dave Robicheaux ....... Alec Baldwin Annie Robicheaux ....... Kelly Lynch Robin Gaddis ..... Mary Stuart Masterson ... Eric Roberts Bubba Rocque .....

N Phil Joanou's moody thriller, Heaven's Prisoners, Alec Baldwin plays Dave Robicbeaux, a former New Orleans cop who was forced to retire early from the force because of a drinking problem. He and his long-legged, sympathetic wife, Amie (Kelly Lynch), have since left the city and moved to the shores of the murky green bayou where they rent boats and sell fishing tackle. Their new existence is quiet, sober, calm and - as is evident from Robicheaux's first line ("I wanna drink"), muttered in hushed desperation to a priest in a confessional booth - it's also poised on the brink of violent

change. The script (adapted by Harley Peyton and Scott Frank from the book by James Lee Burke) doesn't give us much of a chance to observe Robicheanx in his fresh callian mode before it obliges his obvious craving for danger and action by crashing a small airplane into the gulf right beside his own

He dives in after the wreck and emerges with a waterlogged little girl, a Salvadorean refugee and the only survivor of the explosion. Without thinking twice, the childless couple takes her in as their

Rohicheaux, though, knows that something is amiss and that perhaps the accideot was not such a fluke. Soon the family is treated to a cautionary visit by an officer from the Drug Enforcement Agency (Vondie Curiis Hall) and then by a coople of thugs who wam Robicheaux less tactfully to keep his face out of their business. ven Robicheaux's antsy frame mind (the guy simply wasn't mind (the guy simply wasn't meant to hawk earthworms), their threats only serve as an invitation to become more deeply involved, to make a special trip to New



Dave Robicbeaux (Alec Baldwin) and his wife Annie Kelly Lynch) witness a devestating plane crash.

Orleans to question an old friend, with lush, decaying images stripper (Mary Stuart Masterson), and to find out all he can about the little girl, the brutal thugs and the mysterious plane . crash

While there is a certain strained suspension of disbelief involved in a plot like this one, which requires of the hero that he both exude wry intelligence and act quite foolishly, strutting headlong into all sorts of life-threatening simations, Alec Baldwin makes it all come alive and seem thoroughly plausible. In his hands, the illogic of a script becomes the irrationality of a character, a far more compelling prospect, As he did in the recent The Juror, Baldwin once again displays a boggling balance of opposites: at once controlled and hliodly furious, smoothly mannered and torn up on the insides, his wise portrayal of a man hell-beot on self-destruction is made doubly potent by his obvious onderstanding of the drama unfolding around him. Not only is Robicheaux spiralling downwards, be's helplessly

watching himself go. Baldwin's fascinating performance seems to emerge organically from the gradual, sloping rhythms and sultry atmosphere duction designer John Stoddan livewire performance you want. Moreau's mioistrations. They've and director of photograph Harris Savides, who fill the screen

wrapped in whorls of drd so gorgeously ominous they sem painted on. Against all odds the colorful Louisiana setting serves not merely as a hand-melown gothic backdrop, but as a val participant in the action. The humid bayus, the seedy

back alleys of the rench Quarter, the ratty roadsid bars and grand plantacon hous through which Robicheaux an the others stumble do more than dictate the drowsy, slow/oil mood (though they do that too, wonderfully). They surroad the characters, crowding in them and warning of the inevable rot that awaits one and al' For the first hour or so, the

movie is aunting and unusually restraine in its pace. (At a recent screenis, an audience full of young Jys who probably expected a uder, faster accom picture sat prently and apparently in awe as Bdwin did nothing more than swe, think and brood his lot in

s the film goes on, though, it bromes a bit more predictable it i-beat and tack: just as the slowset-pieces are trotted out. Still, if Heaven's Prisoners is worth see- stuck him in the heroic role of the that is compelling at its most

Abu Ghosh chorales: Worth the uphill trek HELEN KAYE

T'S that time of/ear when Abu Ghosh grouple toil up the hill for sacred rusic among the glorious acoustes of the Kiryat Yearim church and trip back down it for more of the same plus a bit extra, at the musader church in the village.

The 196 Abu-Ghosh music Festival isfrom October 3-5, at the tail end c Succot, with 14 concerts encompssing Bach to the Beatles.

Two performances of Faure's beautial requiem open the Festial with the Ichud Choir, baritone Dani Ettinger, and the Kibutz Chamber Orchestra conduced by Doron Salomon. The cloing concert on October 8 feanes Bach's little played gem, the Litheran Mass (for the first time at re festival), together with a lozart Te Deum, a Magnificat by Palestrina and a Motet by Orlando

di Lasso, all played by the Ra'anana Symphonette. In between, the eight concerts at

the Kiryat Yearim church include Brahms' songs with two horns and harp together with Britten's delightful (if a tad unseasonable) A Ceremony of Carols I, performed by the Hemiola Choir conducted by Rachel Cochavi Leventer, the Ramat Gan Choir conducted by fesoval music director Hana Tzur in a program called Mass and Requiem by Dvorak, Puccini and Villa Lobos, and a couple of visi-

These are Belgian counter tenor Michel Puissant with Academia Daniel ensemble of seven players (authenoc instruments) with conductor /harpsichordist Shaley Ad-El in an all baroque, and very

familiar, program of Bach and Vivaldi, and the Christians and cathedral cboir from Norway. They'll sing motets by Bach, Grieg

and Britten.

Albanian church, romanoc and folk music; Love Is as Strong as Death - a program of 24 (isn't that overdoing things?) Italian arias with more of the same, but from different concert in the crypt.

nity chorale-sioging daily under the pines. Tickets are from NIS50-80 with package deals available.

first big bash on Purim last year Down the hill the Crusader church concerts include the Albanian Womens Choir from the Tirana Music Academy singing

the baroque - Handel, Scarlatti, Monteverdi - sung and played at a outside, a shuttle bus between the parking lots and the festival, and the Abu-Ghosb signature, commu-

pagne and hors d'ocuvres in the Of course there are free recitals lobby and then it's off to the main

stage, that has been given a naudcal look for supper, opera and dancing until dawn. Sassi Keshet and Efrat Rotem will host a program of favorite arias. The singers, who've all

donated their services, include Gabi Sade, Vladimir Braune, Soile Isokoski (Finland), Anja Kampe (Germany), Marina Levitt, Susanna Poretzky, Efrat Rotem, Yevgeny Shapovalov, Iorme Silvasti (Finland) and Larisa Tatuev.

## Brando's mad scientist mutation No. 435

squashed the Wicked Witch of the East, occasiooally painted white so that he resembles a big dish of wiggly vanilla pudding and offering a prissy Etonian accent that sounds just like Sir James M. Barrie's valet, Brando essays an impersonation in The Island of Dr. Moreau that makes his jungle-mad Col. Kurtz in Apocalypse Now seem like the very model of decorum. The movie isn't actually a

derivative of Heart of Dorkness, it only seems that way. But the source of this tale is a long-forgotten anti-vivisectionist novel by H.G. Wells that occasionally makes it to the cinema (last time: 1977, with Burt Lancaster and Michael Crawford). This one is Mad Scientist Mutotion No. 435/subgenre tropics/subsubgenre species crossbreeding.

Brando's Dr. Moreau appears to be attempting to locate the genetic source for man's aggression and violence, but the science is never clearly explained. Mainly what he's doing, is

playing a game of pin-the-tail-onthe-donkey with real tails and real donkeys, as well as cars, bears, lions, monkeys and men, whom be's scrambled geneocally or surgically so that his island looks like production of A Midsummer Night's Dream put on by the patients of an asylum.

Into this tropic hell comes the tall, commanding, above all rational figure of ... Val Kilmer, right? ong. Actually, Kilmer is one of the crazies. It's Thewlis, possibly the most physically grotesque ss threatens to become sluggisb, human figure in the movies: a few more conventional action long, tall, gangly fletch of a man who looks already crossbred to a it's ripe atmosphere and a smart, whooping crane without Dr.

the apocalypse.

The strangeness of Thewlis's assignment is extreme, when one considers that originally the Pooh-bear actor Rob "Cuddles" Morrow was to play the part. Thewlis is, at least, a disciplined professional doing his honest day's labor in the bot sun.

Kilmer, meanwhile, is trying to out-ham Marlon Brando, which is like trying to out-hoot the Hooters

Brando comes on as if be's jovially insane from having watched too many of his own recent films. Odder still, he seems to bave borrowed the Popemobile for transportation as he travels majestically among the dog-boys and girls. Bnt, as he learns, it isn't nice to fool with Mother Nature: She bites back.

The plot turns on the revenge of the dog-boys who, once they figure out the doc's mechanism of control, defuse it and express their own inner bestiality. At the same time, a number of decent actors -Ron Perlman for one, Temura Morrison of Once Were Warriors for another - are lost behind their dog-boy faces. The one impressive member of the cast is a very ony man who appears in a wordless role as Dr. Moreau's pet. I mean very tiny: I've never seen a

man so tiny. Poor old John Frankenheimer, who took over the troubled production on location after another director bad fled. Frankenheimer - the disonguished director of The Manchurian Candidate, Seconds and a oumber of other early '60s riveters - got the movie made on the force of his sheer professionalism.

Against the runaway egos of the cast, he has created something

IG as the house that innocent outsider who's present at superficial level, though it never triumphs over the rotting spleodor of its own folly.

(The Balomore Sun)

## MIDNIGHT PRAYER (Tikkun Hatzot) September 3 at 8:30 p.m. A new production that deals with the identity crisis of a young Sephardi man torn between the ultraorthodox Ashkenazi sect which adopted him and his Sephardic origins, in a world where the two communities are completely separated. ...a convulsive frontal explosion of Sephardi

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## Civics lesson

President Aharon Barak continue unabated, despite the condemnations issued last week by the prime minister, chief rabbis and the president, of the attacks on the Supreme Court and on Barak himself, in a number of haredi newspapers.

The continuation of this intolerable state of affairs is due in no small part to the fact that baredi leaders and spokesmen have not retracted their attacks on the authority of the Supreme Court and their laheling of Barak as an "enemy" and "dictator." Although they insist that they intend no physical barm to anyone in their demands to limit the court's powers and change its composition, the effects such words can have on even one unstable individual are too dangerous to be glossed over. A responsible leadership must carefully measure its messages, before it bas cause to express its regret.

The haredi leadership would also be wise to consider whether it really wants its demands met. It has been careful to couch its criticisms of the Supreme Court in impressive-sounding legal terms; restraint of judicial activism, parliamentary sovereignty, democracy and majority rule. While these are certainly all issues worthy of serious debate, there is something curious about a minority sector of society raising them. Would the haredi community, for example, accept the direct expression of the secular

THE threats on the life of Supreme Court majority if such issues as the clasing of Rehov Bar-Ilan, or state recognition of vivil marriage in Israel, hypassed the Supreme Court and were put to a referendum? More dramatically, how would it react to a majority decision to limit the free expression of religion?

It is always easier to remember the imes that the court has ruled against one's interests and to forget the protection that the court\system grants. Even if the baredi sector ideologically rejects secular values - which is its legimate right - it cannot ignore the fact that his a minority here, and therefore needs the photection provided by such secular concepts as adividual and minority rights. It seems, unfolunately, that there is a lack of understanding of the role of the Supreme Court in a democracy hut this is not only true of haredi society, hut of all segments of the Israeli public.

As the school year opens, educators throughout the country must go beyond the slogans of democracy and explain as best they can the suhtleties of the democratic system, the concepts of rights and responsibilities, the fine balance between majority and minority rights, between the individual and the collective, and the roles that each of the branches of government - legislative, executive and judicial - have.

Indeed, as we approach the New Year the whole country, adults and children alike, could do with a serious civics lesson.

## Curious peace deal

THE Chechens may have been singing and dancing over their perceived victory in the fight for independence from Russia, but the real value of the peace agreement, which national security chief Alexander Lebed proclaimed as ending the miserable war, remains clouded in uncertainty. Most people have heard declarations that "the war is over" too many times to start celebrating.

Oddly enough, at the center of the uncertainty is President Boris Yeltsin himself. Excitement over the breakthrough pact negotiated by Lebed and the Chechens quickly faded amid rumors that Yeltsin - again vanished on vacation - does f it. He was quoted as saying needed "additional evaluation and assessment."

The hesitation seemed to be further confirmed by Yeltsin's subsequent silence and hy the ohlique comment of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who merely said that the supposedly sealed accord is "on the right track along the way." He added the overused political clicbe "we have to move forward," hut without damaging Russia's interests.

This indicates that the sticking point for the Russians in the Lebed plan is the implied promise to consider Chechnya's independence claims in five years, if they refrain from pursuing it by violent means in the interim. The peace accord was signed on Saturday hy Lebed and the Chechen rehel commander Aslan Maskhadov, hut the ink was scarcely dry before doubts that Yeltsin would validate it surfaced. Yeltsin's whole attitude to the negotiations has hecome something of a mystery - first he put Lebed in charge of finding a solution, then chided him for not moving fast enough, and finally distanced himself from the whole affair.

All previous attempts to end the Chechen war bave failed but this one is far bolder in scope. Moving beyond the aim of simply achieving a cease-fire, Lebed - who has long made it clear be couldn't really care whether Chechnya secedes or not - bas plunged through the thorny field of the province's political status within the Russian Federation. Under the new peace agreement, both sides are committed to resolving the dispute by December 31, 2001. The Chechens bave seen this as a concession to their aspirations for independence, hence the celebrations. Yeltsin probably has reached the same conclusion - and doesn't like it. Until these difrences in attitude are clarified, the neace agreement must be seen as just as sbaky as any that preceded it.

There also remain curious unsolved issues, which seem to reflect the rivalries that swirl endlessly though Kremlin corridors rather than difficulties with the Checbens. The higgest of these is what is to become of of Checbnya's Kremlin-backed leader Doku Zavgayev. Chechens view Zavgayev as a Moscow puppet and traitor. But for Moscow to remove this elected official would be too open an admission

of Russia's defeat at Chechen hands. Yet a gloweriog Lehed, asked about Zavgayev by a journalist, said: "What do you mean asking about Zavgayev's power? Did he have any?" Since the man's power was granted by the government Lebed represents and was installed by force of Russian arms, the matter raises more questions about exactly what kind of deal Lebed has cut in Checboya. Yeltsin may well conclude this looks more like another fine mess- one of his aides has gotten him into. rather than out of.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR WRONG MESSAGE

Sir, - With reference to the increase in public transportation fares recently levied, I understand that the government has determined that we are now in a fiscal crisis and that measures need to be taken to alleviate the problems. I disagree. I feel that the government is wrong in its assessment and even if (arguably) not, it is wrong in its choice of solutions. The cut-backs including the public transportation fare increase are hurting those who in large proportions voted for the current government as well as those of us who did not. I am concerned with how these cuts will continue to burt the progress that we have made in Israel, especially since 1992.

The increase in public transportation fares will not only burt many of us financially, but it sends a message that environmental protection and inexpensive and efficient public transportation is not a priority in Israel. Along with plans for the Trans-Israel Highway, the price increase says that it is better to take the car than to go by public transportation.

We need creative solutions. The recent ground breaking for the Tel Aviv subway is a good example of a creative solution. Another would be a switch to electric buses in our cities, a concentrated effort to build a high speed rail system as well as bicycle-friendly streets and

If we really believe that this is the "Holy Land," than we need to start acting that way towards it.

LOU FRANKENTHALER Jerusalem

Sir. - While it is certainly commendable that Health Minister Tzahi Hanegbi has promised to enter the battle against smoking (August 26), I must confess my skepticism about his ability to succeed in an area in which limited success is the precedent. It is not his capabilities which are in doubt, but the lack of public cooperation, coupled with a lack of consideration for others and complete disregard for the laws already in effect which lead me to draw this conclusion. The laws banning smoking in the

work place are nothing more than a joke. I write this as I sit in my office in a government ministry with smoke wafting under my door, no doubt coming from the ever-present smoker sitting next to the ashtray under the ''no smoking' sign in the corridor. In two previous work places, I was forced to inhale second-hand smoke in the elevators, in the lunchroom, and even in my won work space, coming from people

WILLIAM HECHLER

Sir, - A decade ago, I sent a large package of letters, documents and photographs relating to the Zionist, Rev. William Hechler, associate of Theodor Herzl, to David Pileggi of Jerusalem. They were from the estate of Hechler's son, Ernest, who came to South Australia as a young man and practiced as a solicitor in Loxion, a small country town, where he died a bachelor in 1972 aged 92. Pileggi had sought material in Australia for a biography he intended to write about William Hechler. An article about some of his discoveries appeared in your paper under

who would only "be a minute" in my presence with their cigarettes. When asked hy my co-workers and me to extinguish the cigarettes in clearly marked non-smoking areas, these people usually responded with laughter, condescension and rudeness. People smoke freely in hospitals, with staff and visitors alike puffing away as if there were no tomorrow. Waiters and waitresses are besitant to ask smokers to put out their cigarettes when sitting in the non-smoking section. The list

goes on and on. Until the existing laws regarding smoking are enforced by the authorides. I am afraid that Mr. Hanegbi's well-intentioned actions will not have their desired impact in the war against smoking. I have been told that the State of Israel has come a long way in this ongoing battle, but in my opinion, it still has a long way to go.

LIZA FARACHDEL Re'ut.

November 8, 1988. I have not beard from David Pileggi for some years and am unable to locate a current address for him. A number of people in South Australia are interested to know about the progress of the biography. If it has been abandoned, we would like to know which safe archive has been chosen for the storage of the valuable original material I sent. Perhaps some of your readers

KINGSLEY IRELAND, 128 Penrice Road, Angaston, South Australia. the heading "Vicarious Zionist" on Angaston, Australia.



## Hitting where it hurts

ROSS-cultural oecessitates studying the other side's decision-making process and the personal interests of the individuals

involved in it. One of the most common and serious mistakes negotiators make is to assume that the other side reasons and arrives at decisions in a manner similar to theirs. Such mistakes often occur, pr example, in negotiations etween Western and Japanese

hey also occur in world politics- and nowhere more so than in Isael's perception of Syria, a county whose politics is characterize by the constant struggle herwen the ruling Alawite minorit and its rivals, such as the religious elements within the Sunni miority that were fiercely repressedduring the 1982 upris-

The regime's violent attempt to survive which even saw President assad putting down coup attemts hy his brother Rifat during the mid-1980s - is the dominant f not the sole item on the Syrian genda.

The Syrial nation, which unfortunately as failed to create a mortgage-paing middle-class or even a maningful intelli-gentsia has nonoteworthy role in determining is own future. Any Israeli attema, therefore, to analyze the Syrian ecision-making process "in our wn image" is doomed to failure.

No course of dealing with Syria - neither economic excements nor political measures, or even international sanctions can influence Assad's regim any more than they have impessed Saddam Hussein's.

Far from threatening the Shian regime, direct Israeli-Syrian ilitary tension could even servit as a useful tool in avoiding indnal problems, keeping problems ic sectors of the population on the front line - far away from **RON TIRA** 

there is focused on the international arena.

Israel, it is important to remember, has always defined its war goal in terms of destroying the Syrian army, and not the Syrian regime. Consequently the tradi-tional carrots and sticks Israel uses keep missing their purpose.

Any Peres-like vision of full

peace resulting in openness and the generation of wealth would also result in the emergence of a Syrian middle-class, which

How can israel deal effectively with Syria? Drugs provide one answer

would then pose a major threat to the regime.

Peres's alternatives to Israeli control of the Golan Heights the proposed regional security schemes and arms control - if efficiently constructed would limit Assad's ability to use force against his truly endangering enemies from within.

Not surprisingly, when Assad was given the opportunity to choose hy the previous Israeli government he chose to maintain the status quo, leaving Israel only 50 km. away from the Syrian capital yet maintaining the edge in his internal struggle to survive.

The Syrian regime has a proven track record of making decisions in a cold and calculated manner. It will not opt for an eruption of hostilities, as suggested by some, merely because of statements made by Prime Minister Netanyahu on CNN.

But it could favor hostilities if its interests so dictate, regardless of how appeasing Israel is - for Damascus - and maintaining the example, if its demographic attention of what public opinion problem increases (recent figures

indicate a substantial rise in the number of young nnemployed Sunnis).

SO HOW can an insight into Assad's world he used to deal with him effectively? Drugs provide one answer.

Syrian leaders, as well as military and security personnel, earn over \$1b. a year from their Lebanon-based drugs trade. A US Congressional report implicates high-ranking Syrian officials such as Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas, powerful intelligence commanders like Ghazi Kenaan and Ali Duhah, and memhers of Assad's own family in drug production, processing and trafficking, predominantly via Lebanon.

Syrian military positions in Lebanon are often bordered with cannahis and opium fields, as well as heroin laboratories.

And while huge profits go to the senior figures in Assad's regime, even low-ranking Syrian officers reportedly collect as much as \$30,000 a year - at least 30 limes the normal wage in Syria - from drug-related activi-

Pentagon sources characterize the phenomenon as "the glue that keeps the Syrian military togeth-

The way Israel can maintain pressure on Syria is by dealing with its small ruling class, whose members pursue their own selfinterest.

Israel must send them this key message: Any undermining of Israeli interests will carry a price - for the first time in a currency they hold dear.

The knowledge that their cannahis and opium fields and their beroin labs could be destroyed is something that would finally make these people sit up and pay attention.

The writer, former head of a section in IAF intelligence, now practices corporate law in Tel

## Passives. Pollard

YOSEF BEGUN

For Bot Congres

TOR decades in the Soviet Union there were Jews whose fate was the focus of the entire Jewish world. Prisoners of Zion were accused and impiaoned for their activity on behalf of

Yes, on that point our prosecutors and judges were correct: Our crimes." aliya and the renaissance of Soviet Jews, were done for the sake of Israel, as well as for ourselves. And when we were sent to Soviet prisons, Jews all over the world did everything possible to liberate us.

This fight for the freedom of caprive" Soviet Jewry will go down in history as a good exam-ple of Jewish solidarity and the reality of our moral imperative: Every Jew is responsible for every

It would seem that there are no longer any Prisoners of Zion, but it is not true. There is Jonathan Pollard. A different case, yes... but still the same. Political intrigue surrounding the case influenced the decision of the jury, suggest ing anti-Jewish influence.

Much has been written about the disproportionate severity of Pollard's sentence compared with those of others who spied for the allies of the US. As The Jerusalem Post of July 29 stated, Pollard has fallen victim to what can only be called an act of arbi-

trary injustice." The Americans' behavior in the Pollard case is a matter for their own consciences. But what is really difficult to understand is our own Jewish position. From the Israeli government and the American Jewish establishment must come the initiative and the action to help Pollard.

FROM ANY point of view Pollard deserves his freedom after 11 years of imprisonment, Under public pressure, on the eve of the recent elections, the previous Israeli government granted him Israeli citizenship, and many reresentatives of competing partie

Is each Israeli his brother Jonathan's keeper? Yes particularly former Prisoners of Zion

expressed their commitment to securing his release.

But the elections have passed and Pollard remains a prisoner. without any sign of his situation being alleviated.

President Clinton, who is so fond of expressing his concern about Israel's security, is in no great hurry to grant Pollard his freedom, no doubt as a result of the low profile senior Israeli officials have kept regarding his case.

There are said to be political reasons for this... perhaps. But there is no excuse for the lack of public outcry for the freedom of this imprisoned Jew.

The fight for the freedom of Russian Jews witnessed a similar phenomenon in the 1960s, when the Israeli government kept a low profile on the complex issue because they were afraid to irritate the Soviet government. Moved to take action, a massive

public struggle on behalf of Russian Jews spontaneously arose in the early 1970s. As a result of this grassroots activity the politicians became more acrive. Some say that the Pollard case is

very different from that of the former Prisoners of Zion in the

Is it? After all, who is Journal Pollard? He is a Jew who put aside his personal life and free dom in the interest of the levish state. He gave Israel information about treacherous Iraq plans against the Jewish state Daing the Gulf war it was clar that Saddam Hussein would sop at nothing to cause irreparate interest

Pollard, realizing that Pentagon wanted to concret information, vital for Israel's security, gave it to our country. In other countries people like.
Pollard are hailed as heroes

a Jew who risks his life and free dom on behalf of the Jewish state a national hero? Former Prisoners of Zon seed to have a very passive stimulation toward the Pollard case. As one of these cases are the seed of the seed of

them, who received com support from American Jews obtain my freedom, I have a mod dilemma about not helpel American Jew in need-

We have no right to be of to Public activity on the part the mer Prisoners of Zion would be a lot in the Pollard case. It is moral obligations and the public activity on the part of the moral obligations. moral ohligation to aid just

The writer is a former.

حكدًا من الاصل

An ostrich would be envious

THE attitude of total helpless-ness from officials and the apathy one senses from most Israelis on the subject of illegal ing foreign workers is just one indication of our deep social crisis.

In three years the phenomenon of illegal workers has grown to monstrous proportions. Nobody, in fact, knows exactly how many illegal workers there are in the country

Those who would play down the problem put the number at 100,000, close to 2 percent of the country's total population. Alarmists would have us believe that the real figure is nearer 400,000 - a little over 7 percent.

Why our economy, or at least its private sector, needs foreign workers isn't hard to explain. In Western societies - and Israel is one - money rather than labor is idealized and welfare payments are frequently higher than the legal minimal wage. The result is a great shortage of manual workers, even in periods of high unemploy-

Until the terror wave of spring 1993 it was primarily Palestinian workers from the territories who filled the demand for manual labor. In many respects this was ideal, for the employers at least. They had an unlimited supply of taborers willing to work for less than the legal minimum wage, usually without social benefits, who didn't have to be housed since their homes were relatively

The one hitch was the personal security of the Israeli population. Your average Palestinian terrorist doesn't look any different from the average Palestinian worker who just wants to feed and clothe his family. And the fact that potential terrorists constituted no more

than 0.5 percent of all those cross-

SISAN HATTIS ROLEF Green Line every day in searchof a living didn't reduce the

risk the terrorists embodied or the letal nature of what they workers, coming from the works poorest countries and

willing twork for even less than the Paleinians, began pouring into the cuntry in spring 1993. And even the authorities had pre-

What rotten job we hav made of dealify with our ilegal worker poblem

pared for the social indications of the new phenomend ensuring that these workers' that these workers' aployment conditions didn't recall pmething out of Charles Dicket, major problems would st have problems would remained

The presence in a coury of 100,000 or more ured, long men separated from their famila is a clear recipe for trouble

BUT NOT only did the authories do nothing to try to confront is problem, they sowed the seeds worse one: illegal workers. policy of former labor and soci affairs minister Ora Namir was make it very difficult to bring in foreign workers legally.

I was treated to a personal trip down this particular Via Dolorosa. When the price of employing Israeli women to care for my mother became exorbitant (NIS 12,000 a month, excluding house-

work) I tried to bring in a Filipina. It took me five months and a good deal of what's known as Vitamin P to obtain a permit. By contrast. I could bave got an illegal worker in a couple of days.

After the flow of foreign workers began, it gradually became evident that with all Israel's security-mindedness and the hours it takes to get through security when leaving the country from Ben-Gurion Airport, as far as entering it is concerned our borders are like a sieve. Thousands of illegals began to

And once they are in the country - and degrading working conditions ofteo make legal workers abandon their original employers. thus becoming illegal ones - very little effort is made to locate them. Worse, little effort is expended in making Israeli middle men - the social scum involved in this new slave trade - feel the weight of the law. Such an effort requires manpower and will, and neither, it eems, is available. Instead our Jewish genius is

busy figuring out how to build transit camps" for the illegals, who are to be deported - 1,000 a month - wbile Mr. and Mrs. Average Israeli act according to the well-tried convention of What I don't see doesn't exist and make sure they stay clear of the maio areas of misery and degradation, places like the old central hus station in Tel Aviv.

Blessed be the system of laissezfaire economics, social Darwinism and our leaders of both political camps, who long ago threw away their ideologies, moral values and human sensitivity in favor of wining primaries or the blessings of

writer is a political scientist.

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## The New York Times

## **Weekly Review**

Printed and distributed in Israel in association with

## **Lone Rangers**

Sunday, September 1, 1996

Vol. CXLV-No. 50,537

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## For Both Dole and Clinton, Congress Can Be a Real Problem



The Democratic National Convention, closing in a confetti storm, was the President's show. Lesser Democrats, who have a chance of retaking Congress, had bit parts.

#### By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

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■ HE argument was made time and again last week at the Democratic National Convention: Bill Clinton must be re-elected, because a Democratic President is the last line of defense against an onslaught by a reactionary Republican Congress.

It was a main theme, for instance, of Vice President Al Gore's speech Wednesday. "They want someone in that Oval Office who will rubber-stamp their plan," Mr. Gore said of the Republicans. "That's why they want to replace Bill Clinton. But we woo't let them."

A new Democratic television advertisement being broadcast around the country asserts, "Next year, if Newt Gingrich controls Congress and his partner Bob Dole enters the Oval Office, there'll be nobody there to stop them."

What goes unsaid is that this argument presumes that in November the Republicans will retain cootrol of Congress, which they took from the Democrats just two years ago. That is a fairly good bet. But it is by no means a sure thing.

Charles E. Cook Jr., who publishes a political newsletter and who is viewed in Washington as the most reliable nonpartisan handicapper of Congressional races. figures that Democrats have, perhaps, a 40 percent chance of regaining control of the House and a 1 in 3 chance of winning the Senate.

But members of Congress played only a bit part here last week. Those who spoke

#### The conventions cared only for the top of the ticket. They had their reasons.

did so, for the most part, well before prime time on television. And when the main speakers like Mr. Clinton, Mr. Gore and the keynoter, Gov. Evan Bayh of Indiana, referred to the Congressional

races at all, they did so only in passing. At their convention in San Diego, Republicans shrank from meotioning their control of Congress. Speaker Gingrich, who two years ago was the man most responsible for Republicans' winning a majority of the House and Senate for the first time in 40 years, was kept under tight wraps. No mention was made of the Contract With America, the manifesto on which many Republican Congressional candidates ran in 1994. In his speech accepting his party's nomination, Bob Dole, who spent most of his adult life in Congress, did oot talk at all about Con-

gress or his service there. In one respect, it is no surprise that Congress took a back seat at the conventions. After all, the main focus of party conventions is the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. This is doubly

Continued on page 3

#### **More Political** Coverage

Conventional Design The message is the same, at three hours or three minutes. By James Bennet



Thank You. **New York** A gift to Clinton: the lower national crime rate.

By Clifford Krauss

Social Science

Academics dare to ask: Just what is Newt Gingrich?

By Adam Clymer



Intimacy and the Democrats

## So the Personal Does Turn Out to Be Political

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

HEN Bill Clintoo found his purported marital infidelities splashed across tabloid pages during his first run for President, he and his aides fought back furiously, challenging reporters to explain what relevance such tales about a candidate's personal life had in a political race, particularly when presented in a supermarket tabloid.

But when Dick Morris, the President's chief political strategist, found himself hoisted last week in the same newspaper, and over similarly unsavory allegations - that he carried on an affair with a call girl at one of Washington's most distinguished hotels, where he mixed moments of intimacy with revelations about White House business - none of Mr. Clinton's aides even tried to suggest that Mr. Morris's personal life was out

In truth, after the convention staged by the White House last week, how could they?

Putting aside the question of Mr. Morris's guilt or innocence - be resigned upon publication of the report in the tabloid Star but said he would not dignify the allegations with a response - Mr. Clinton's campaign apparatus had just produced a nominating convention that was, from start to finish, larded with intimate stories about the lives of the Clinton and Gore families. The disclosures might not have been as sensational as those in Star, but they were surely personal, as Mr. Clinton's campaign pushed American politics even further into territory where personal experience counts as much as — indeed, more then — policy and ideology.

Indeed, after the Democrats finished their four days here, most viewers could be forgiven for wondering if they had just endured a particularly grueling afternoon of talk shows. Jeff Greenfield, the ABC political commeotator, was not joking when he suggested in a conversation the other day that Ricki Lake, the syndicated television talk show host, "should have been the chair of

## A Sister and a Brother

There, in prime time, was Vice President Al Gore solemnly recounting in painful detail, as the cameras focused on delegates dabbing at their eyes, his sister's death from lung cancer, right up to her final breath. The next night, the President of the United States shared with his audience the redemptive story of how his brother, Roger, had fought to overcome cocaine addiction.

"Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man and I hate them," Mr. Clinton said, a slight tremble in his voice and an edge in his eye. "He fought back. He's here tonight with his wife. His little boy's here, and I'm really proud of him." As Mr. Clinton gestured to the back of a hall, a spotlight illuminated Roger Clinton in the family box. For a moment, the Democratic National

Convention felt like a revival meeting. Even Chelsea, the Clinton's 16-year-old daughter, was not left out. The Clintons had once been vigilant about protecting her privacy. Last week, Mrs. Clinton shared with the world Chelsea's night at the hospital after a tonsillectomy. ("That night, Bill and I couldn't sleep at all," Mrs. Clinton said.) For the rest of the week, young Chelsea was a more common sight here than

Continued on page 3



Dick Morris and his wife, Eileen McGann, at the wheel, arrived home in West Redding, Conn., Thursday, Mr. Morris resigned and left Chicago when a tabloid reported that he had had an affair with a call girl. 

## The World

# Why Some Vote Yes for Bosnia's Flawed Elections

By CHRIS HEDGES

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina N a large warehouse in downtown Sarajevo, thousands of ballot boxes and cartons of pens, ballot seals, ink stamps and posters are stacked up to the ceiling. The paraphernalia is now being laboriously trucked to NATO bases in Bosnia for delivery to polling centers in time for elections a week from this coming Saturday.

But the seeming efficiency of such logistical preparations cannot gloss over the absence of political preparations needed to give peace and democracy in Bosnia even a remote chance. The elections, in fact, seem set to cement in place the ethnic partition of Bosnia — the very outcome that negotiators sought to avoid when they devised the voting as part of the Bosnian peace accord forged in Dayton, Ohio, last November.

#### The Campaign Strategy

Last week the chief international election supervisor for Bosnia, Robert Frowick, a retired American diplomat, postponed voting for municipal governments that was to have been part of the elections on Sept. 14.

Attacks against opposition candidates, the inability of refugees to return home and confusion over voting lists apparently convinced monitors that local balloting io disputed towns and villages would be unmanageable, with a high potential for violence. But ostensibly more manageable regional and national elections will proceed as planned, even though those races are plagued with the same problems.

Why are elections going forward when the requirements for a free vote - like freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly - are denied to most Bosnians? And what, given these conditions, are the elections meant to accomplish?

The answers lie in Washington. The Bosnian elections have at least as much to do with the re-election strategies of the Clinton White House as with the electioneering here. A delay in the Sept. 14 vote would stir doubts among American voters about President Clinton's pledge to have American peacekeeping troops largely out of Bosnia by the end of the year. The 53,000member NATO force in Bosnia is scheduled to begin withdrawing on Dec. 20, and Americans by and large would prefer not to have the 16,000 American troops in it stay a day

But critics of many stripes are already calling for a postponement of all the voting among them Bob Dole, Mr. Clinton's Republican opponent, who last week in a the President called the elections a "sham in the making." Io any case, some extension of the NATO force's mandate, with or without a significant American component, appears likely after the American elections.

For now, however, Washington is pressing its timetable. After Mr. Frowick announced the delay in municipal elections, officials of the National Security Council warned him



cy is subject to intimidation or worse. Its will is enforced by the Bosnian Serb army, controlled by Gen. Ratko Mladic, and the police, loyal to Radovan Karadzic, the Serbs' political leader. General Mladic and Mr. Karadzic remain the party's powers behind the scenes even though as indicted war criminals they have been required to yield influence under

the Dayton peace process. "It is as if we allowed the Nazi party to compete in postwar elections in Germany and then permitted the SS to handle internal security," said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

#### Surrounded

that they would have to be rescheduled to

take place before Dec. 20. Not one of Mr.

Frowick's aides believes the irregularities in

Such hints of the outside world's uncertain

resolve toward Bosnia are noted well in this

once ethnically mixed former Yugoslav re-

public, now divided into Muslim, Croat and

Serb enclaves after four years of war. The

Bosnian Serb leadership - responsible for

the siege of Sarajevo, the executioo of more

than 4,000 people in Srebrenica and "ethnic

cleansing" - wants to see the elections take

place as planned, too, but for reasons quite

different from the Americans'. It sees them

as an opportunity to ratify its wartime con-

quests with an international imprimatur. It

is confident it will win big, because it has

Outsmarting Muslim opponents, Serb lead-

ers have exploited an election rule that al-

lows people displaced by war to cast ballots

in places where they would like to live,

reardless of whether they ever resided there.

The Serbs have organized 123,000 voters to

register to vote in towns like Srebrenica,

once mostly Muslim but now controlled by

In Serb-held areas, the ruling Serbian

Democratic Party makes certain that any-

one foolish enough to challenge its suprema-

stacked the deck in its favor.

the Bosnian Serbs.

the local contests can be solved by then,

Last week, in a sign of escalating tensions, American troops detained more than 60 uniformed Serbs who attacked Muslims trying to rebuild their homes in a Serb-controlled

Croatian and Muslim nationalist parties in their respective parts of Bosnia have also compromised the credibility of the vote, although in less egregious ways. For example, the President of the Muslim-led Bosnlan Government, Allja fzetbegovic, has blocked TV broadcasts designed to allow independent candidates to be heard.



The New York Times The Bosnian Government - left with only 30 percent of the republic's territory after the Dayton accords halted the fighting remains surrounded by hostile neighbors, including ethnic Croats who are oevertheless nominally linked with the Bosnians in a federation. Without integration with their neighbors and the delivery of promised inter-

Government and Croats Croats

national aid, the Bosnian Muslims cannot build a viable state economically or politically, or hope to credibly restore a semblance of the republic's prewar territorial integrity. Their only realistic options are an exten-

**КАНДИДАТІ І STRANKE ZA IZBORE '96**КАНДИДІАТИ И СТРАНКЕ ЗА ИЗБОРЕ '96

An American soldier, left, tries to stop an angry Bosnian Muslim

from throwing a stone at Serb policemen detained after the

Serbs assaulted Muslims returning to their hornes. Above, a

Bosnian Serb at a polling station for absentee voters in Belgrade.

sion of the international presence here or a resumption of their fight to regain control of the country, which in the eyes of the international community belongs to them.

If war starts again, the next Balkan bloodbath will probably be allowed to proceed with little international interference or censure, given the exhaustion of the outside powers. More likely is a continuing but inconclusive NATO presence here, leading perhaps to a prolonged territorial stalemate like the one in Cyprus, where nearly two decades later it still takes international troops to keep the warring factions apart.

For the allies to accomplish more, to forcibly remove the Bosnian Serb leadership from power, would probably mean embroiling the NATO force in a conflict with casualties. And few NATO Governments (least of all France, which lost over 50 soldiers here during the war) would be eager to explain body bags to skeptical publics back home.

Given all this, the Americans and their allies have accomplished much, perhaps all

The problem is that it is not enough.

Panic Stations

# Does Cost Outweigh Risk in the War on Terror?

By STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON HE vaunted military and security organs of the United States, bereft of the clarity of the Soviet enemy or the probability of traditional war, have turned considerable attention and resources to the scourge of international terrorism, the weapon of the weak and dispos-

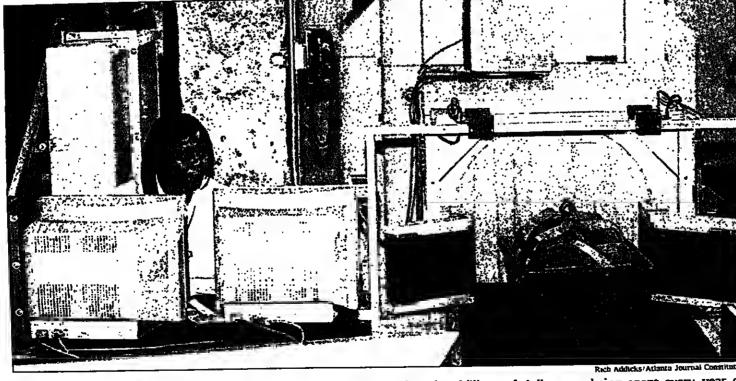
President Clinton calls international terrorism the greatest security threat to the United States. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry estimates that the United States Government alone spends \$5 billion a year

combating terrorism. That figure is likely to be dwarfed by what the private sector spends in increased security at airports and telephone switching centers, let alone in the time lost to Americans as they walt for increasingly long periods in an increasing number of lines. But there seems to be an extraordinary

#### Americans are footing. a huge bill to fight terrorism, even though they're relatively safe.

disconnect between all this furor and the actual damage inflicted on the United States and Americans. In 1994 and 1995 combined, exactly 16 Americans died in acts of international terrorism, defined by the State Department as involving citizens or territory of more than one country. The year before,

57 Americans died when struck by lightning. Even if one includes the 168 dead from the domestic bombing of the Federal building in Oklahoma City in April 1995 and the 19 servicemen killed last June in the bombing of the American military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia - or the 230 people who died on T.W.A. Flight 800, possibly downed by terrorists - the figures pale next to the 42,000 Americans who died in 1993 from motor-vehicle accidents or the 31,000 Americans who killed themselves that year.



Statistically, Americans have little to fear from international terrorism, but billions of dollars are being spent every year on antiterrorism measures, including state-of-the-art bomb-detection machines like this one at Hartsfield Airport in Atlanta.

And worldwide, the number of deaths from terrorism dropped to 44 in the first six months of 1996, compared with 85 in the

same period last year. Richard N. Haass, who is about to become director of foreign-policy studies at the Brookings Institutioo, likened the tradeoff between cost and risk to insurance. "What sort of a premium are we willing to pay as a society for this insurance policy, in costs and liberties," he asked, "and wbat sort of risk will we tolerate?"

The premium seems high right now, he believes, but it will grow. Given America's openness and its dependence on vulnerable centralized systems for water delivery, telephone service and transport, he said, "we've gotten off pretty easily."

Terrorism has a sharp political cost in that no Government can be seen to be doing nothing, even in the face of ambiguous evidence, says Morton Abramowitz, director of the Carnegle Endowment. "To find the right

balance in dealing with terrorism is very difficult," he said, "and like our drug policy, it's very heavily politically determined."

#### **Terror Without Purpose**

Walter Laqueur, the author of two influential books, "Terrorism" and "Guerrilla," thinks the cost of fighting terrorism, given the panic and death it causes, will only increase. His concern, he said, is the access to modern technology and scientific expertise of various new terrorist groups, some very small and sectarian or millenarian, : to whom no intelligence agency has paid too much attention.

"We seem to be coming to the age of purposeless terrorism," he said. "The smaller the group, the less clear the aims and the greater likelihood they just want to destroy.'

Terrorists have so far used conventional weapons against specific targets, like airplanes and buildings, rather than unconven-

tional weapons, like nerve gas or biological poisons, against larger targets.

In the 1960's, says Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the American military conducted secret "field trials" of anthrax spores, dumping a safe facsimile on commuters leaving Grand Ceotral Station in Manhattan and letting the wind carry more to shore from a ship anchored near Atlantic City. The military concluded that 65 pounds of anthrax, released without a sophisticated delivery system, would be equivalent to a small nucle-

But the real goal of terrorism is affecting politics and strategy, causing incapacity, intimidation and enormous pressure on the part of a victimized Government to strike back somewhere. As Mr. Laqueur says, "the real danger now is not the damage that can be done but the panic and the reaction of the public, which is not prepared," especially in a country that has become so intolerant of

casualties, even in war.

In the current furor, there are already calls for harsher laws and less worry about civil liberties. In foreign-policy terms, unilateral American efforts to isolate and sanction 'rogue nations" that sponsor terrorism, like Iran, have not only elicited little support among allies but produced new resentments and divisions among them, without much damage to the target.

#### **Waging War**

William E. Odom, a retired general, former director of the National Security Agency and director of counterterrorism in the Carter White House, says context is everything. No act of terrorism has ever brought down a democracy, he says, while the leverage of the terrorist depends on the political and psychological reaction to the act. "I came to a fairly simple view," he said. "Terrorism at home is crime; terrorism abroad is war."

Washington has lots of capacity to handle both crime and war, Mr. Odom said, but operational tactics and intelligence - which by themselves do not involve large new expenditures - need to be improved. "f have no problems with economic sanctions as an instrument of diplomacy," he added. "But if it's an act of war, why not act militarily?"

While retaliation must depend on evidence, some suggest that America's threat to retaliate lacks credibility. Richard Perle, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense under President Reagan, finds it absurd that Washington merely demands that Libya turn over the meo indicted for the 1988 Pan Am bombing-Mr. Reagan, after determining Libyan complicity in an attack on American servicemen in a Berlin discotheque in 1986, ordered the bombing of Col. Muammar Qaddafi's residence in Tripoli. "We were serious about it and retaliated in a way Qaddafi understood." Mr. Perle said, "and he behaved differently

for years." 'Sanctions are rapidly becoming the alternative to a serious policy on almost every thing," he added. "The resort to them often reflects a lack of will," which is well understood by both the intended target and reluctant allies.

The result, Mr. Haass says, is "a foreign policy of appearances, which is about how you position yourself with a domestic and ence rather than the real concerns, which are about whether you're alienating you friends or influencing your adversaries."

The Nati

## **The Nation**

## Few Tears for the Death of the Network Convention

By JAMES BENNET

HE curtains have rung down on the overly managed political conventlons of 1996, and broadcast executives and journalists are asking themselves whether the 44-year tradition of live network coverage is doomed. What they should be asking is: Who cares?

And the answer - which is that no one really should care - should offer those same journalists hope that their profession is becoming more, not less, relevant in an age of diversifying medla and increasing political infotainment.

No journalist wants to make a news judgment four years out. But, while PBS plans to keep broadcasting conventions, few at the commercial networks believe they will carry conventions live in the year 2000, except perhaps for the candidates' acceptance speeches. Barring a change, "we're headed directly to cable," said Tom Brokaw, the anchor of "The NBC Nightly News."

Andrew Heyward, the president of CBS News, was less definite. But he said, "I can't imagine devoting as much time or as many resources to coovention coverage in the year 2000, unless there's a substantial and hard-to-imagine sea change."

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Of course, the scripting of conventions is not new. It is no coincidence that the last contested ballot was in 1952 - the same year that CBS started covering conventions

But while conventions have been evolving for many years, so has television news. 'The temptation is always to think in conventional old terms," Mr. Brokaw said. 'The new terms are the cable audieoce is almost as large as the broadcast networks'

The change in the media coverage of the cooventions has become dramatically evident this year, with the introduction of NBC and Microsoft's all-news cable channels.

"Who would lose, if we weren't covering it live, as long as there is the option for the viewer to say, 'I want to see it on C-Span in all its full glory'? " said Ted Koppel, the host of ABC's "Nightline."

#### A Handful of Hours

Republican and Democratic officials argue that the oetworks bave an obligation to carry the conventions in prime time, pointing out that their coverage amounts to only a few

hours for each party every four years.

But as Jeff Greenfield, the ABC News

correspondent, said, such criticisms spring from outdated assumptions about the roles of conventions.

One assumption is that a convention is still the best opportunity for the American people to evaluate the candidates. But this is no longer true, since the convention is scripted. "We get to hear them unscripted in debates," which started in 1960, Mr. Greenfield said. The oetworks are also considering a proposal to give the Presidential candidates free

broadcast time to address voters directly. Another outdated assumption, Mr. Greenfield said, is that conventions are where parties define what they stand for. That is decided in the primaries, he said.

Lastly, there is the assumption that prime time itself is particularly significant.

"The whole prime-time thing may be overrated," said Bill Kristol, the publisher of the Weekly Standard. "Whether 11 million or 15 million or 20 million watch it is much less important than what the message is that goes onto local news, and newspapers, and talk radio."

This aspect seems better appreciated by convention planners than by the networks. The conventions are so repetitive - with simple messages repeated endlessly, almost sadistically, through many speeches - because neither party expects anyone, except

As the Big 3 pull back from televising hoopla, the future is cable.

committed partisans whose votes are unshakable, to watch everything. Instead, the parties rely on the press to record the conventions and to shatter them into a million tiny pieces, to be served up in programs, articles and on-line services. Those bits usually refract their themes.

Although the convention prime-time network audience plunged this year, Americans were still bathed in images from the conventions by everything from NBC to MTV to America Online.

Last week Bill Clinton demonstrated how little concerned he was that the networks would broadcast every bit of his prime-time program. He granted CBS an interview on his whistle-stop train ride and the network interrupted its convention coverage to show portions of it.

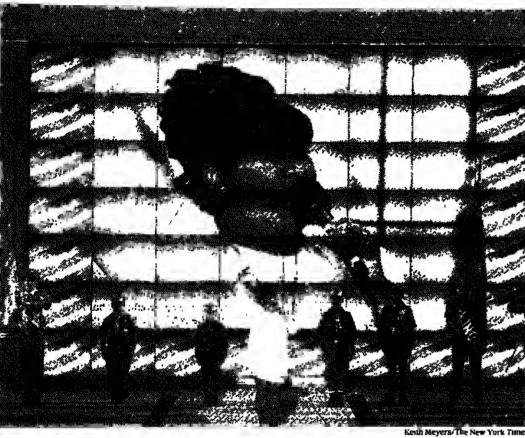
So perhaps it is time for the networks to treat the conventions as they do the unveiling of any artfulty packaged product. "Somehow we have very little trouble the rest of the year seeing through this kind of thing, when Hollywood tries to do it with a movle, or a factory does it with some new product," said Mr. Koppel, who decamped on the second night of the Republican convention in a protest against the dearth of real news.

If the networks ditched their perceived obligation to carry one hour live, Mr. Koppel said, they could better bring their news judgment to bear, covering the conventions and packaging them in their own program separating the wheat from the chaff.

'That sounds elitist, I know," he said. But it is what journalists are paid to do. Other people, Mr. Koppel said, are "spending their time lawyering and doctoring and waiting tables and teaching school, and so they need someone else to do that sifting."

Perhaps with journalists' attention focused on sifting the conventions for real news, the news could become sharper than much of it was this year.

There may be no better demonstration of the warping of news at these conventions than a promotional clip of the high points of its coverage that the CBS affiliate here is running. "As we've been reporting," a correspondent breathlessly declares, "the Democrats have a standing ovation planned."

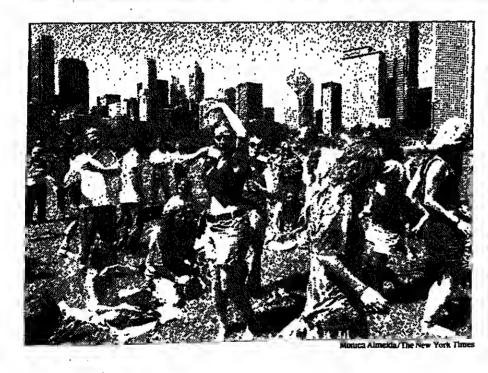






#### All Warm 'n' Fuzzy in Chi-Town

At the Democratic convention in Chicago (clockwise from left), Aretha Franklin sang the national anthem; delegates cheered and wept for Jesse Jackson; the Clintons and Gores were huggy bears, and hipsters grooved in Grant Park. With a convention so up close and personal, it didn't seem odd to be curious about the sexual exploits of the President's fallen political adviser.





## The Personal Does Turn Out to Be Political

Continued From Page 1

Speaker Newt Gingrich had been in San Diego. Thus, after four days of the convention-as-confessional, the closing day story that appeared in the pages of Star, where the prostitute told all (for money) about her purported nights with Mr. Morris, seemed just

what the television viewers had ordered. "In some ways," Lewis L. Gould, a historian at the University of Texas, said of the Morris story, "it wasn't so much an embarrassment as a fulfillment. It came after all those moments - Al Gore's sister, the persooal revelations. Why not have a sordid personal revela-

#### Quayle's Complaint

There are some, in both parties, who are finding this whole turn of political events distressing. Dan Quayle, the former Vice President, suggested that the Democrats in particular - but his party as well - were focusing on personalities because it was too difficult to hazard a substantial discussion about the difficult issues that such symbols allude to on national television.

'To some extent, our convention was the same way," Mr. Quayle said by telephone from Indiana. " 'Don't answer hard questions. Be soft. Be fluffy. Get up there and do the feel-good stuff. But avoid the tough questions. Because they say that the people don't want

"They have these silly focus groups," Mr. Quayle continued. "They focus group this stuff. They think this works. I'm not so sure about that."

But W- Clinton's advisor of

After days of talk-show talk, a more sordid revelation from the Clinton camp. It's hard to see anything but damage resulting.

it's important for public leaders to reveal the values that animate their actions," said Paul Begala, who was one of Mr. Clintoo's senior strategists in the 1992

But what Mr. Begala's Democratic Party discovered last week is that there is a cost to opening the window too much on the private lives of the nation's leaders. It is not a particularly new lesson. That is what is at the root of the loss of esteem suffered by Britain's royal family, a cautionary tale indeed. Buckingham Palace, during World War II, decided to present the royal family as a model family to the suffering citizens of their country, allowing them to be seen, for example, tending patients in military hospitals. That was the first lift of the skirt, and it led later to a blitz of front-page scrutiny by the British press of every dysfunctional royal turn - affairs, divorces, nude sunbathing.

President Ronald Reagan, too, learned the perils of overexposure. Throughout the 1980's, the Reagans pre-

Davis, the younger daughter, wrote a book that presented Mr. Reagan as an absent father and her mother, Nancy, as steely and mean.

But when it comes to the politics of personal disclosure, oeither Buckingham Palace nor the Reagan White House bas come close to Mr. Clinton. It is sometimes complicated for this President, given Mr. Clinton's acknowledged marital troubles in the past. But Mr. Clintoo has long proved adept at unveiling private chapters of his life, to obvious political effect. The events here last week were reminiscent of Mr. Clinton's orchestrated conversation with a sympathetic columnist in early 1992, when he revealed how he had stood up to his abusive, alcoholic stepfather.

#### **Nothing but Damage**

Mr. Morris's difficulties last week were arguably the biggest evidence yet of the kind of risk politicians run in declaring, in effect, that everything is fair game. It remains to be seen if Mr. Morris's problems will harm his former client at the polls. But in a week when Democrats were using personal anecdotes to present themselves as the party of the family, it is hard to see anything but damage coming out of reports that Mr. Morris, who is married, was spending long nights with a prostitute.

Still, giveo the direction that American politics is heading, there may even be hope for Mr. Morris. After this convention, it seems hardly far-fetched to imagine Al Gore four years from now, accepting his party's oomination for President and scanning the audieoce for examples of recovery and redemntion Mr Morris

## Clinton and Dole Alone at the Top

Continued From Page 1

true when the nominees are incumbents.

"I guess I do feel like something of a stepchild," said Representative Robert T. Matsui of California, Mr. Matsui, a senior member of the House Ways and Means Committee, recalled that at the Democratic convention in New York four years ago, he ran a seminar on the economy for a group of lobbyists. Last week, he noted, that job went to an Administration official, Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin.

But to an unusual extent, both Presidential candidates this year are running their campaigns independeot of the Coogressional elections. The reason is no mystery. Congress as an institutioo is even more unpopular than usual, And while Mr. Gingrich is worshiped by his acolyies, polls show that he is one of the most disliked politicians in America.

#### Still Disapproving

As recently as June, the New York Times/CBS News poll found that 71 percent of the public disapproved of the way Congress was handling its job, while 19 percent approved. In August, after a spasm of bill-passing, the public's view Improved somewhat. But people still disapproved of what Congress was doing, by 52 percent to 32

In addition, a sizable proportion of Americans like the idea of divided Government. A New York Times/CBS News poll in July found that as a general proposition, almost as many people (34 percent) thought the country was better off with the White House and Congress controlled by different parties as thought it would be better to have them run by the same party (43 percent). Furthermore, by a margin of 56 percent to 32 perceot, people said that if Republicans kept control of Congress, it would be better to re-elect President Clinton "to limit the power of Republicans in Congress" than it would be to elect a Republican President to strengthen the hand of

What this means for Mr. Dole is that he must distance himself as much as possible from Congress io general and Mr. Gingrich in particular.

As for Mr. Clinton, he recognizes that voters know . much better what they do not want than what they do want. At this moment, what voters do not want most of all is for the Republican Congress to go unchecked. So it behooves Mr. Clinton to keep raising that prospect.

That leaves the Democratic candidates for Congress high and dry. But from Mr. Clinton's perspective, they have little to offer him. He became much stronger politically when he was able to block Republican initiatives than he was when he was trying to promote his own agenda with a Democratic Congress. And there is a strong sense, as the party's general chairman, Senator Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, acknowledged in an interview last week, that the Democrats in Congress do oot know what they would do if they won back a majority.

Even so, the prospects for a Democratic victory in Congress this year are much brighter than they appeared even a few months ago. For the Democrats to win the House, they must win a net of about 20 seats; to win the Senate, they must gain 3 seats.

#### The Democrats' Edge

In a CBS News poll released late last week, likely voters said by 45 percent to 36 percent that they would vote for a Democratic candidate for the House. Such a poll says nothing about individual races. But political analysts use these numbers as an indicator of the direction the election is taking. The Democrats' nine-point lead is greater than the one Republicans enjoyed when they won the House in 1994.

Based on a seat-by-seat analysis, Mr. Cook, the handicapper of Congressional races, said he thought there was "a very, very strong chance" that Democrats would knock off 25 to 30 Republicans. The question, he said, is how many seats Republicans will pick up that are oow Democratic; a number of senior Democrats, many from the South, are retiring in districts that bave voted heavily Republican in other races recently.

The situation in the Senate is much less settled than usual. Since World War II, 79 percent of Senators who have run for re-election have won, and the most open seats in any election was 10 in 1978: But this year, 14 Senators - 8 Democrats and 6 Republicans - are retiring, and most of those seats are up for grabs.

These races for the House and Senate will be run parallel to the Presidential campaign, not in conjunction with it. But a Republican strategist who is advising several candidates for Congress said that after watching the Democratic convention, be would advise his clients to sing the same song as the Democrats.

"I'm telling them," the strategist said, "to take the

## The Nation

## New York City's Gift to Clinton: A Lower National Crime Rate

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

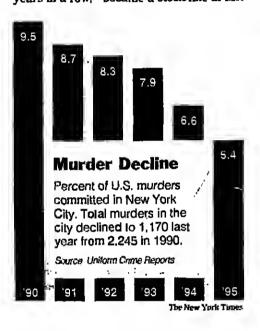
EW YORK CITY'S Republican Mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, may or may not endorse President Clinton, but he probably has already done as much to re-elect him as any Demo-

Mr. Giuliani has not only pursued police policies that have lowered his city's crime rate so dramatically that it has driven down those of the country - handing Mr. Clinton a major campaign bragging point in the process - he has also thoroughly retooled the neighborhood anti-crime program that the Presideot is promoting on the stump.

Whatever the paradox, the Clinton campaign unfurled the crime issue as one of its major themes last week with the kind of symbolism Democrats used to reserve for civil rights and the war on poverty.

President Clinton surrounded himself with police chiefs, sberiffs and cadets at the police academy in Columbus, Ohio, during his whistle-stop trip to the Chicago convention. At the conclave itself, Jim and Sarah Brady, as well as a Congressional candidate, Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed and son wouoded by a gunman on the Long Island Railroad, made appearances to dramatize the gun control issue.

"The crime rate has come down for four years in a row," became a stock line in Mr.



Clinton's speeches, while campaign press office handouts reminded reporters of a line in Mr. Clinton's State of the Union address last January: "Violent crime is coming down all across America.

In fact, although crime is declining in many cities, it is increasing in others while remaining level in most suburban and rural areas. The F.B.l.'s nationwide index of reported violent and property crimes declined 3 percent between 1993 and 1995. But when New York City's 25.9 percent decline over the same period is excluded, the nation's crime index decline was just 2 percent. Put another way, New York City - while constituting less 3 percent of the country's population - was responsible for 155,558 of the 432,952 fewer reported crimes over the

#### **Lock Your Doors, Nashville**

Just because the tourist from Nashville can feel safer walking through Central Park, doesn't mean he should stop locking his front door at night when be returns home. Of the nation's 25 largest cities, nine actually experienced higher crime rates in 1995 than 1993: Baltimore, Charlotte, Columbus, Las Vegas, Memphis, Milwaukee, Nashville, Philadelphia and Phoenix.

Preliminary police reports for the first six months of 1996 show a 25 percent spike in the murder rate in Washington compared with the same period in 1995, and lesser rises in 11 other major cities. Meanwhile, the El Paso, Boston, New Orleans and Detroit police departments all have reported recent increases in robberies. Again, New York City will help the total national picture with a 12 percent decline in total reported crime for the first six months.

Only three weeks ago, a report issued by Attoroey General Janet Reno that said youth crime was finally coming down after several years of increases produced politically helpful headlines for the President. She based her claim on a 15 percent decrease in the number of teen-agers arrested for murder from 1994 to 1995 - but she did not break out the numbers by region. It just so happens that the same rate in New York City for the same

period decreased by 28 percent. Mr. Gluliani readily recites such statistics, and does so with a long, pronounced chuckle. "I've spoken to President Clinton and Attorney General Reno about It," he said, "and privately they acknowledge" that the city is largely responsible for the drop in crime.

Maybe so, but in public Mr. Clinton does not single out New York. He attributes the national crime drop to community policing. the Brady gun-control bill and a 1994 crime law designed to help communities hire 100,000 extra police officers. Never mind that the law hasn't increased the size of the New York City force, although it did help the

N.Y.P.D. avert personnel cuts. "I'm telling you folks," Mr. Clinton said in a speech last week in Arlington, Ohio, "we can prevent crime and catch criminals if we have more people serving their communities out there, visible, who know the kids on the streets, who know the neighbors, who know the law-abiding folks."

That was exactly the anti-crime vision of former Mayor David N. Dinkins when he launched his Safe Streets, Safe City plan in 1991. Under that program, 7,000 extra officers were hired as the philosophy of the department was remolded toward deploying beat cops on every subway train and street corner, patrolling in uniform. Officers were evaluated by the number of community meetings they organized, and how conscientious they were in maintaining "beat books" logging neighborhood problems.

The crime rate dribbled down by 2 or 3 percent a year between 1991 and 1993 enough to credit community policing with a victory. But Mr. Giuliani ran promising to cut crime further and, once victorious, be appointed William J. Bratton as police commissioner to rework the Dinkins approach.

"Bratton came in and altered the concept that the uniformed cop can do everything by working with the people," said Thomas A. Reppetto, president of the Citizens Crime Commission of New York City. "He installed management system that pinpointed the crime targets, and be made extensive use of specialized units, which appears to be counter to the theory of community polic-

#### Refining a Concept

Mr. Giuliani and police officials have never publicly disavowed community policing, saying they have merely refined the concept. But neighborhood leaders began to complain that they didn't see as many uniformed cops on the beat anymore only weeks after Mr. Giuliani took office.

No wonder. The department under Mr. Bratton, and now under the new Commissloner, Howard Safir, has put increasing numbers of officers in plainclothes units to



New York City has rethought its use of community policing, concentrating more police in areas where criminal activity is high. An arrest in the Bronx early last month,

investigate drug trafficking organizations. Meanwhile, officers were transferred out of low-crime areas, and redeployed in highcrime neighborhoods. The beat books were replaced by computerized maps that plot criminal activity as the primary measurement of a preclnct's progress.

Among the Giuliani strategies is the stepped-up ticketing of people caught drinking and urinating in public, scrawling graffiti, jumping subway turnstiles and riding bicycles on sidewalks. Such efforts may well improve the quality of life in neighborhoods a primary goal of community policing

but more than anything they stretch civil liberties to the limit as officers pat people down for guns and check them for outstanding warrants.

The tactic has worked to encourage people to keep their guns at home, thereby decreasing the number of street shootings. Such a strategy, however, has outraged civil libertarians who champion a more touchy-feely style of community policing. But even if they don't like Mayor Gluliani's more military style of community policing, traditional liberal groups will not complain if President Clinton wins votes as a result.

## Whistling for Voters





President Clinton, in East Lansing, Mich., last week, offered tax breaks for homeowners and jobs for the poor. Below, his train passed through Galesburg, Mich.

By ALISON MITCHELL

CHICAGO ERHAPS Bill Clinton is not such an untraditional Democrat after all. In a stratagem calculated to catapult himself into the fall campaign, Mr. Clinton last week punctuated his showy whistle-stop train ride and his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention with small but appealing initiatives that add up to \$8.5 billion in grants or lost revenue across the next six years.

On Tuesday Mr. Clinton unveiled a plan to make every third grader literate by sending federally subsidized tutors into 20,000 public

schools. Cost: \$1.8 billion. On Wednesday he called for an accelerated cleanup of toxic waste sites and the posting of pollution information on the Inter-

stamp recipieots stripped of benefits under the stringent oew welfare law and a tax break for middle-class homeowners who sell their houses at a capital gain. The jobs program would cost the Treasury \$3.4 billion, in grants and tax incentives. And the break on capital gains taxes would reduce Federal revenues by \$1.4 billion.

To help pay for all this, the White House

released a proposal for tax rule changes and new fees that would raise \$5.3 billion by eliminating a 70-year-old tax break on export income for some multinational American corporations. \$541 million would be raised by imposing a \$225-per-flight landing fee on corporate jets, and \$500 million from auctioning off part of the radio spectrum.

As for the whistle-stop train ride, it cost \$750,000. Michael D. McCurry, the White House spokesman, said the Clinton-Gore campaign paid \$113,000, while reporters on hoard naid about a third of the bill. The rest Annals of Social Science

## The Political System That Is Newt Gingrich

By ADAM CLYMER

SAN FRANCISCO f the Democratic convention In Chicago, he was a bogeyman, At the Republican convention in San Diego, he was in charge of beach volleyball. But here, at the 92d convention of the American Political Science Association Newt Gingrich is a glorious, provocative experiment.

Political scientists from all over the nation are studying the Speaker. Laurie Buonanno Lanze of the State University of New York at Fredonia saw him as caught in a conflict between conservatives who "yearn to return to a way of life that either is rapidly disappearing or no longer exists" and what she called

#### What is this Speaker? Theories from a convention of academics.

third-wave baby boomers with postmaterial values, who see government as a guardian of the environment, a protector of workers and an agent of ir ternational cooperation.

William F. Connelly of Washington and Lee University went back further, seeing Mr. Gingrich as descended from anti-Federalists who opposed ratifying the Constitution. Like them, he noted, the Speaker "favors decentralization of government and a devolution of power in order to inspire volunteerism.

John J. Pitney Jr. of Claremont College dismissed the Speaker's claims of conservatism, but praised him as a pragmatist, fearless of contradiction. He said Mr. Gingrich was shallow as a futurist and flawed as a military thinker (in the budget battle, he failed B.J. Liddell-Hart's dictum to leave a path for retreat) but described him as an effective political entrepreoeur, teacher and institutional reformer.



Ronald M. Peters Jr., of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Ceoter at the University of Oklahoma, described the Speaker as "ultimately a politician." To Mr. Gingrich, a professor-turned-politician, "ideas are simply the weapons of political war-

fare." Mr. Peters said. One thing hardly anyone addressed was that Mr. Glngrich was implementing the political scientists' own agenda of a generation ago, calling for reposible party government - parties that

tonk stands and insisted on discipline. But that demand was aimed at enabling Democratic liberals (like the political scientists) to rein in Southern conservatives. Now they seem loath to note that their recipe has been put to use by a Republican, the author of the Con-

tract With America But Mr. Peters concluded that while it may take time to determine whether Mr. Gingrich's "takeover of the House will be good for the country," it was already "good for political science."

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ECONOMY

# O Governor, Won't You Buy Me a Mercedes-Benz Plant?

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

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TUSCALOOSA, Ala, OR Alabama, first in little but college football, the quest three years ago for the nation's only Mercedes plant touched deep, unrequited desires. "We're going to get Mercedes and we're going to make them love us," Gov. James E. Folsom Jr.'s wife, Marsha, told him and anyone else at the mansion who needed bucking up as dozens of states courted the auto maker with costly promises.

Today, a Mercedes plant sheathed m gleaming metallic panels rises from the pine forests of western Alabama, where even convenience stores have been few.

Local politicians and Mercedes executives continue to celebrate their victory. They expect 1,500 new jobs at the plant and 15,000 to 17,000 related jobs in the state.

But the auto maker's affections have cost the state dearly. Tax breaks and other subsidies are pushing \$300 million. That amounts to \$200,000 for each job - 18 times what Tennessee paid for a Nissan plant in 1980, more than 7 times what Tennessee paid for the General Motors Saturn plant in 1985, 4 times what Kentucky paid for a Toyota plant in 1985 and 3 times what South Carolina paid for a BMW plant in

Mercedes, it appears, has driven a state with a subcompact budget to spend far beyond its means. Alabama, already last in elementaryand secondary-school spending, first tried raiding its education fund to keep its promises. After that and other efforts failed, the state missed a \$43 million payment to Mercedes. Officials finally borrowed from the state's pension fund, at a punitive 9 percent rate.

To clear and level land that taxpayers bought for Mercedes in the town of Vance, about half an hour northeast of Tuscaloosa and 45 minutes southwest of Birmingham, state officials turned the work into a Federal expense. They called out the National Guard for a "training mis-

Partly because of taxpayer backlash over the Mercedes concessions, Mr. Folsom, a Democrat, and his wife are in the Governor's mansion no more. Fob James Jr., a Republican opponent who during his 1994 campaign accused Mr. Folsom of giving Mercedes far too much, moved in last year and promptly called the company to renegotiate what he could.

Still, the state has been bruised and not just financially. Its hope of capitalizing on Mercedes' prestige risks being overshadowed by its reputation for overpaying. The state's job calculations are "wishful thinking," said William Gunther, an analyst of the state's economy at the University of Alabama. "We're all suffering from winner's curse."

Though states have used incen-

90-DAY RELATIVE TREND

ades, the Mercedes deal and its extraordinary costs show how the war between the states can get out of hand. In an era of corporate downsizing, politicians are ofteo judged by how many jobs they create in the private sector. Companies, no longer loyal to a city or a state, find that their most valuable asset is the leverage they hold in choosing a site.

Economists argue that rich incenlives often fail to yield adequate returns for a city or state, and certainly not for the nation's workers and taxpayers as a whole. Corporate welfare, they say, diverts money better spent attracting businesses through improved infrastructure and schools.

"It is nothing but a zero-sum game," said Robert B. Reich, the United States Secretary of Labor. "Resources are moved around; Peter is robbed to pay Paul." Companies that say they value schools but milk states for subsidies are being hypocritical, he added at a conference organized by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.

Only Congressional restrictions can halt this war, Arthur J. Rolnick. the research director for the Minneapolis Fed, said in an interview. He proposes that Washington tax as income up to 100 percent of any incentives or subsidies that a company receives to move.

Such a law, which would infuriate business leaders and state officials. has little chance in an election year. But many lawmakers are already broaching the issue. A recent request by Congress for an investigation of possible improprieties in states' use of Federal money to lure businesses was one of the few shared causes of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the Massachusetts Democrat, and Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, the New York Republican, Also, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat, has sponsored a bill to end tax-free financing for stadiums.

Absent such legislation, and there is no reason to believe that the battles to get and keep businesses will let up soon. States' truces seldom endure. New York City has repeatedly cut deals for corporations threatening to move out: last year it awarded more than \$30 million each to Morgan Stanley and to Kidder, Peabody & Company. California and the City of Anaheim agreed to spend \$800 million on roads and other improvements, mostly to the benefit of the Walt Disney Company, after it threatened to cancel an expansion or even move Mickey, Donald and the whole Disneyland park. Utah gave Micron Technology Ioc. an estimated \$200 million in concessions to build a computer chip plant in the town of Lehi, though Micron halted construction last winter when chip prices fell.

This year, Massachusetts gave the Raytheon Company, the state's largest private employer, an annual tax break worth \$20 million in the first tives to court corporations for dec- year after it threateoed to move jobs





James E. Folsom Jr., left, was defeated for re-election as Governor of Alabama in 1994 after his Republican opponent, Fob James Jr., made an issue of the subsidies given to Mercedes to attract its new plant.

to Tennessee and Arizooa. Then it about half of the finished vehicles. gave mutual fund companies an annual break of about \$40 million after Fidelity Investments spoke of shifting thousands of jobs to Rhode Island and elsewhere, Raytheon, its incentives in hand, announced in June that it would reduce its work force by 4,500 in Massachusetts.

Many states, upset that promised jobs fail to materialize, have passed laws allowing them to recover their incentives when companies pull back. Alabama's revised pact with Mercedes includes a claim on the plant and its machinery in case the factory never opens.

Regardless of how many jobs Mercedes might mean for Alabama, the state's concessions have brought the United States only what would have come here anyway.

To avoid high German labor costs and to penetrate a booming American market for family trucks, known as sport utility vehicles, Mercedes had decided by early 1993 to build a plant in the United States.

Andreas Renschler, who managed the site selection for Mercedes and now runs the plant, sald his aides had initially suggested 62 sites. None were in Alabama. The Germans knew all about Tennessee, as well as the Carolinas and other coastal states, "Alabama," Mr. Renschler said, "was totally unknown."

But Alabama's business people and politicians sniffed a singular chance to jump into the New South orbit. Not only would Mercedes pay twice the state's prevailing factory wages, but an economist working with company consultants estimated that the plant would lead to 15,000 to 17,000 new jobs in the state.

Governor Folsom flew to Stuttgart three times and steered an incentive package through the state legislature. To help improve Alabama's image, he lowered the Confederate battle flag above the state Capitol.

Simple economics argued for the Carolinas, where the parent company of Mercedes, Daimler-Benz A.G., already had two Freightliner truck plants and easy access to Atlantic ports. Mercedes planned to import parts from Germany and to export

But North and South Carolina, the other finalists, found that the tax breaks or payments they extended were matched or bettered. Alabama offered \$77.5 million in sewer, water and other utility improvements, \$92.2 million to buy and develop the site and about \$5 million annually for employee training and other pro-

The total, which was put at \$253 million then and has since escalated to about \$300 million, did not include another sweetener. The state agreed to buy 2.500 Mercedes utility vehicles, for use by everyone from highway construction supervisors to agricultural agents. The expense: about \$75 million.

Mercedes contends that other states offered as much as Alabama. "We don't play one state against another." Mr. Renschler said. Officials from all three finalists, though, dispute that.

On Sept. 30, 1993, Mercedes announced its site decision, Proud Birmingham business leaders paid \$75,000 to erect a 5,600-pound Mercedes hood ornament on top of the Legion Field scoreboard in time for the Alabama-Tennessee football

As details of the incentives dribbled out, the state began struggling to pay for them. It planned to relieve Mercedes of its corporate income taxes and let it keep most of its employees' personal state income taxes as long as the company had debt payments on plant construction. But much of that tax revenue is normally designated for education, in a state under court order to improve its schools and spread money more equally among districts.

The state's attempt to use the Na tional Guard to prepare the site brought a reprimand from a member of Congress and a hasty retreat.

Unbowed, Mr. Folsom took to calling the tax-break legislation the Folsom Incentive Plan. His opponent for Governor, Mr. James, brought in Lamar Alexander, the former Tennessee Governor, to point out that his state had paid far less to win a General Motors Saturn plant that

said that although a majority of voters favored the deal, opponents were so angry that they might have played a role in his 10,000 vote de-

The new Governor negotiated limits oo some state commitments to Mercedes. He made sure that Mercedes agreed to eventually buy back a visitors' and training center, paid for by the state, at market value, not just a nominal price. He scotched the plan for a Mercedes fleet.

Mercedes executives say they are satisfied with the revised incentive package. "We are not coming into Alabama because there is a nice governor," Mr. Renschler said. "We

still feel at home bere." The back-slapping manner of Mr. Renschler, a gangly 38-year-old with a shock of blond hair, bas sometimes gone over better with Alabama politicians than with starchy German executives. He has courted Mr. James since well before the 1994 election. The Governor oow plays down his criticism and says he will buy one of the plant's vehicles.

For Mr. James, a prosperous businessman, financing a Mercedes is easier than financing the plant, especially because he had pledged to avoid new taxes. He backed away from using tax revenues meant for the schools after the Alabama Education Association prepared to challenge the arrangement in court. His proposal to sell bonds guaranteed by the state's companies worried business leaders. The courts struck down yet another plan to divert oil and gas tax revenues to Mercedes.

On April 1, 1995, the state missed a \$43 million payment for construction. Publicly, at least, Mercedes remained patient.

Mr. James then called David G. Bronner, chief of the \$16 billion state pensioo fund, Mr. Bronner strongly supported the Mercedes deal, though not always the state's handling of it. 'The state got Itself into a little blt of a bind," he said. "But my job is with the retirement fund." For a \$98 million line of credit, he demanded and received 9 percent interest, virtually a junk-bond rate, about 2.5 percentage points above the usual cost.

The state's expenses mounted as other companies took advantage of incentives allowed under the Mercedes law and limited only slightly by Mr. James. Wheo Trico Steel, a. partnership of LTV, Sumitomo and British Steel, woo an \$85 million tax break to build a steel plant in Decatur, Ala., a competing Gulf States Steel plant in Gadsden won its own break of at least \$1.5 millioo annually for 20 years.

Alabama could not afford to scale back its concessions much, however, after other states passed oew incentive laws matching its own.

Alabama's rivals have some good reasons for jealousy. The Mercedes plant brings well-paying jobs and a dash of international prestige to a state that desperately needs both. Last month. Porsche confirmed that it was in discussions about using the plant to produce about 8,000 of its own sport utility vehicles, adding about 12 percent to the plant's planned output of 65,000 a year.

More than 40,000 workers applied for the plant's 1,200 initial jobs, at least 1,000 of which will probably be filled by Alabama residents. "It's a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity," said James Phillips, who will lead a Mercedes quality-control and testing team. Like most of those hired, Mr. Phillips already had a good job, as an aircraft mechanic for Allied Sig-

Jobs on the plant floor pay a minimum of \$12.80 an hour, rising in two years to \$17.50 - about double the state's usual rates, plus geoerous benefits. Mercedes, along with most other foreign car makers with plants in the United States, hopes that paying wages near unioo scales will keep out organized labor.

The assembly line is clanking to life with trial versions of the new Mercedes vehicles. The new model, for drivers who dream of backwoods rambles but usually venture no farther than the oearest Eddie Bauer store, will go on sale in about a year for roughly \$35,000.

Even some people who defend the deal say the state simply should

has far more workers. Mr. Folsom have made itself a better place to do business, especially by improving the schools. "If we had spent more money in the last 20 years on education, we would have a better-trained work force," said Bo Torbert, a former chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court who successfully sued the state to improve the schools and balance spending across the state. "Maybe we wouldn't have to give as much in incentives to get Mercedes here."

The ultimate payoff for these incentives is also in question. Many of the primary Mercedes suppliers lured to Alabama also received concessions - costing in the millions, perhaps tens of millions.

The state's economic impact study assumed that Alabama would become a new Michigan: that Mercedes would concentrate its parts purchases in Alabama, much the way Detroit auto makers do in their state. In Michigan, an auto assembly job generates 9 more jobs, the highest ratio in the nation. The state study assumed that Alabama could do even better, with 10 or 11 extra jobs, for the 15,000 to 17,000 total.

Mercedes, however, is bringing engines and other parts, about 35 percent of the vehicle contents, from Germany. The Mercedes plant also appears too small to attract most of its other suppliers to Alabama. Only 10 of 71 primary suppliers to Mercedes are in the state. Michigan and Tennessee each have 8.

"The real winner in the Mercedes plant deal was not Alabama," Thomas J. Cunningham, a Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta ecocomist, recently wrote, "but rather Tennessee." The Mercedes choice, he said. confirmed Tennessee's place as the hub of the oew Southern auto industry, with plants there and in most surrounding states.

Checks with several Alabama suppliers tend to support a study commissioned by Alabama Arise, a nonprofit community group, that predicts the creation of about half as many oew jobs as the state does.

The Mercedes suppliers in Alabama do much of the assembly of dashboards and other large components, which most auto makers do in their own plants. These suppliers, in turn, order a high percentage of their parts - brakes, shock absorbers, wiring — from other companies. Robert Birch, the Mercedes plant's purchasing chief, said that while the primary suppliers had brought Alasuppliers would bring even more.

Several providers of Mercedes components, however, said that they bought most of their own materials from other states. "I have no suppliers in Alabama," said George J. Telenko, who manages a ZF Industries plant in Tuscaloosa that joins axles, brakes, shock absorbers, differentials and other parts.

Mercedes executives coyly note that the plant occupies only a third of the site on which it is built and that foreign producers like Toyota in Kentucky have expanded. But industry analysts say the company's success here is no sure thing. The market for sport utility vehicles has become crowded, with the Ford Explorer and Jeep Grand Cherokee being joined by several new models. Mercedes is an extremely competent company," said David E. Cole, director of the Office for the Study of Automotive Transportation at the University of Michigan. "The question is, will this market continue to be as strong?"

Already, much of the euphoria is evaporating. At Legion Field, where Olympic soccer matches were played this summer, the oversized Mercedes hood ornament came down in June to comply with a ban on commercial logos at Olympic events. It hasn't gooe back up yet, as Birmingham business leaders and Mercedes executives debate where it should go and at whose expense.

Now, the three-pointed star in a circle sits fenced off in a suburban storage area. "You might think it should be lying on hallowed ground," said Walter Garrett, the manager of Legion Field. "But there it is, lying in the shambles and embarrassment of a weeded yard."

PERFORMAN	CE	IN	U.S.	DOLLAR	S		IN LOCA	L CURR
Country	Index	Week		YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend	Index	YTD % Chg
Country	206.65	0.6	20	8.7	11	4.36	173.80	2.3
Australia	179.95	0.3	22	3.1	22	2.03	138.22	6.5
Austria	218.69	1.1	17	4.6	20	4.06	164.15	8.1
Belgium	172.54	-4.3	28	25.1	1	1.98	322.41	30.6
Brazil	246.35	1.9	10	6.9	19	4.07	234.59	6.6
Britain	163.96	1.6	13	10.5	9	2.21	162.75	11.0
Canada		0.3	21	10.5	8	1.85	248.05	14.0
Denmark	319.41 211.09	1.6	14	12.8	6	2.51	198.61	16.5
Finland	192.58	2.4	8	7.3	18	3.18	152.56	10.8
France		0.2	23	8.0	13	1.80	135.83	11.5
Germany	176 74	1.9	9	12.9	5	3.37	434.61	12.9
Hong Kong	437.79	-0.1	24	12.2	7	3.49	249.66	11.1
Ireland	286.75	1.1	18	3.7	21	2.50	86.24	- 1.2
lialy	76.44	-0.2	25	- 4.6	24	0.76	100.55	- 0.5
Japan	.147.80	-0.2 1.6	23 12	14.4	4	1.70	532.70	12.3
Malaysia	554.93	1.6	16	24.7	2	1.26	10.594.69	21.4
Mexico	1,291.59	-0.4	27	10.2	10	3.25	227.22	13.9
Netherlands	300.67	3.4	3	7.9	14	4.19	. 65.71	1.6
New Zealand	. 85.95	0.9	19	8.0	12	2.08	217.10	9.5
Norway	249.89	3.0	5	- 1.9	23	1.47	259.28	- 2.3
Singapore	399.46	1.8	11	-15.3	26	2.33	323.11	5.2
South Africa	326.30	1.4	15	7.7	15	3,47	168.43	10.9
Spain	177.97	2.6	6	15.8	3	2.42	352.27	15.0
Sweden Switzerland	361.42 254.05	2.5	7	7.7	17	1.58	187.81	11.6
	144.24	4.0	2	-14.3	25	2.38	141.55	-14.0
Thailand			26	7.7	16	2.18	270.49	7.7
United States	270.49	-0.3	20					
COMPOSITE !	NDICES						105.50	- 00
Europe	216.42	1:5		7.7		3.07	185.59	9.2
Pacific Basin	161.71	0.2		- 2.1		1.24	112.35	0.9
urope/Pacific	184.38	0.8		2.4		2.13	139.99	4.8
World	211.80	0.3		4.7		2.15	180.79	6.3

	IN	U.S.	DOLLAR	S		IN LUCA	L CURR.	
x	Week % Chg.	Week	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	i Index	YTD % Chg.	In U.S. dollars.
35	0.6	20	8.7	11	4.36	173.80	2.3	
15	0.3	22	3.1	22	2.03	138.22	6.5	A
39	1.1	17	4.6	20	4.06	164.15	8.1	~\\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\
4	-4.3	28	25.1	1	1.98	322.41	30.6	Land V
35	1.9	10	6.9	19	4.07	234.59	6.6	
16	1.6	13	10.5	9	2.21	162.75	11.0	
1	0.3	21	10.6	8	1.85	248.05	14.0	
9	1.6	14	12.8	6	2.51	198.61	16.5	
8	2.4	8	7.3	18	3.18	152.56	10.8	Many or John Will
'4	0.2	23	8.0	13	1.80	135.83	11.5	WORLD INDEX
ģ	1.9	9	12.9	5	3.37	434.61	· 12.9	In U.S. dollars
5	-0.1	24	12.2	7	3.49	249.66	11.1	195 196
4	1.1	18	3.7	21	2.50	86.24	- 1.2	SOND J F M A M J J A
0	-0.2	25	- 4.6	24	0.76	100.55	- 0.5	
3	1.6	12	14.4	4	1.70	532.70	12.3	Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standar Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are of
9	1.4	16	24.7	2	1.26	10,594.69	21.4	oxied jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor

conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's

ćυR	RENCIES			
Exchange rates	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar German marks to the U.S. dollar Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar U.S. dollars to the British pound	108.92 1.4808 1.3683 1.5624	108.13 1.4790 1.3707 1.5566	+0.73 +0.12 -0.12 +0.37	97.43 1.4625 1.3440 1.5573

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Finday's New York closes

## Aug. 26-30: New Fears of Fed Tightening Push the Dow Lower and Interest

berg Financial Markets: The Bond Buyer, Datastream Report: Memil Lynch, Standard & Pours; Ryan Labs

PRICES	·•.	DOMESTIC BONDS		AROUNO THE WORLD
DOMESTIC EQUITIES  Broad market	Down 2.25%	Treasuries Thursday close Ryan Labs. Total Return	Down 0.62% 186.58	European stocks F.TActuaries Europe
S. & P. 500 index  Blue chips	651.99  Down 1.86% 5.616.21	Municipals Bond Buyer index	Down 0.85% 114.22	Asian stocks D F.TActuaries Pacific Basin
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Up 0.64% 333.88		<b>Down 1.12%</b> 801.91	Gold New York cash price Foreign indexes in dollar terms
 •.			. 45%	

est Rates	•	
	BONDS	C
<b>Up 0.85%</b> 216.42	Long bonds 7.12% 30-year Treasuries Up 17 basis pls.	
<b>Down 0.96%</b> 161.71	Notes 6.33% 2-year Treasuries Up 20 basis pts.	i
Unchanged \$388.30	Municipals Bond Buyer index Up 10 basis pls.  100 basis points = 1 percentage point	3
±15%	SO-DAY RELATIVE TREND +100	

Change in basis points

175

Money market funds Taxable average Dow	<b>4.79%</b> vn 3 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	5.09%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	<b>2.25%</b>
S.&P. 500 dividend yield	Up 5 b.p.
Change in basis points.	+100

"they told my son be had to pass all

his courses or they'd put him out" or

It takes savvy parents to get their

students into private or religious

schools, voucher or no voucher. And

students of such parents typically do

well regardless of where they go to

school. Is it any wonder that such

children do better than those stu-

dents simply sent off, alone, to wan-

der into their neighborhood schools?

I will begrudge no taxes paid to.

educate a child in a school that

does not discriminate against any

group of students, so long as that

school doesn't preach sectarian reli-

gion. But until the playing field is

level and private schools are held to

the same standards as public

schools, not a cent should go their

The writer is superintendent for al-

ternotive high schools and programs

in the New York City school system.

New York Legislation

STEPHEN E. PHILLIPS

New York, Aug. 28, 1996

"he kept getting into trouble."

## The New York Times

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## Big Money at the Conventions

Two decades after Watergate, the struggle to limit corporate and big-money influence on the political system has been mocked by the fundraising and influence-peddling spectacles at both parties' conventions this summer. Rivers of money flowed into the Republican and Democratic conventions from special interests, while donors were rewarded with skybox seats, parties, private meetings and other forms of access to policy makers. These abuses must now be met by a redoubled effort to reform the system.

President Clinton bears a particular responsibility for allowing the fund-raising to spin out of control. He advocates reform but also is the most successful Presidential fund-raiser in bistory, particularly for the "soft money" contributions to the Democratic Party, which are not governed by limits under campaign financing laws, In return, Mr. Clinton has accorded big givers startling access to the White House, and contributors were cosseted and feted throughout the convention. It is hard to believe that their views will not be takeo into account when policies are decided.

Under laws enacted after the Watergate scandals, public financing of elections and conventions was authorized in order to reduce the need for politicians to take money from influence-seekers. Ceilings were also imposed on how much an individual or a political-action committee could give, and corporations and labor unions were barred from contributing to Federal candidates. But there are no limits on money contributed for broad party activities like getting out the vote and geoerally supporting state and local candidates. What was startling at the conventions was how effortlessly both Presidential candidates drove truckloads of that soft money through the loophole.

Taxpayer money pays each party \$12 million to hold its convention, so that the parties will not raise the money elsewhere. But the parties set up host committees in the convention cities to do the iob. Each host committee raised another \$12 million from corporations and individuals.

Chicago and San Diego were also the scene of countless private receptions for delegates in hotel suites, yachts and other places, paid for by businesses, trade associations, lobbyists, labor unions and others. Many of these groups also paid for parties held by state delegations. The recently enacted gift ban for members of Congress exempted conventions, so the party meetings became orgies of special interests' wining and dining those who make public policy.

This page has long deplored the growing reliance on soft money in elections. All pretense that there was a distinction between fund-raising for candidates, which is governed by Federal limits. and soft money raised by parties evaporated in Chicago, where candidate Clinton attended a huge gala for big soft-money contributors, the culmination of many private meals and meetings he has been holding all year.

Common Cause calculates that Democratic Party committees raised more than \$65 million in soft money in the first 18 months of the current campaign - five times what was raised in the comparable period four years ago. Republican committees raised nearly \$76 million. Many if not most contributions were in the range of \$50,000 or more, with Republican donors tending to be in securities and investments, oil and gas and communications.

Under Mr. Clinton, Democrats have specialized in big money from the financial sector, entertainers and communications conglomerates like Walt Disney, Seagram, Dreamworks SKG and Time Warner, whose activities have been scrutinized for antitrust problems or the content of their television programs and mergers. But just about every corporate donor has an agenda. Many get tax breaks or other benefits that always seem to be spared when it comes time to close the Federal deficit.

'A' lot has been said about the obsolescence of political conventions, now that they no longer choose the candidates or even debate issues. It would be sad indeed if the only rationale for conventions was to shake the money tree.

### The Progress of German Unification When the Iron Curtain fell in 1989, there was no

more important consequence than the reunification of Germany, Seven years later the joining of East and West Germany attracts less attention but is no less critical to the future of Europe. Fortunately, for an undertaking this gargantuan, unification is progressing relatively well. It seems to be meeting everyooe's expectations - except the Germans'.

Half of western Germans say in opinion polls they are dissatisfied with unification, and 38 percent of eastern Germans agree. One in five easterners would like Communism back. This nostalgia is more understandable in Eastern European countries now stripped of their security blankets. Unification has thrown East Germans into the arms of ooe of the world's most generous welfare states.

Bonn is pouring well over \$100 billion annually into Germany's five new eastern states, more each year than the total cost of the Marshall Plan in today's dollars. Eastern Germans are richer and freer than their former Communist neighbors and richer and freer than ever before. Yet they do not seem very happy about it.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl cast unification's fate in July 1990, when he allowed East Germans to convert Ostmarks to Deutsche marks at an overvalued one-to-one exchange rate. That stopped the stampede of East Germans west, and pleased the East German majority, who wanted to dump everything Socialist and become West Germans as fast as possible. Mr. Kohl also decided to raise eastern wages as close to western wages as possible. The policies enabled eastern consumers to huy western goods. But they killed East German factories and cut investors' incentives to build new ones in a place whose infrastructure has been largely untouched since Hitler's time.

Today eastern Germans are paid at 81 percent of western levels, but they are only 55 percent as productive. Unemployment in eastern Germany is now over 15 percent, while in the west it is 9 percent. Womeo have been particularly hard hit.

But the east has grown, in recent years, at the fastest rate in Western Europe. At current investment levels, productivity may equal the west's in 10 years. Meanwhile, the welfare state cushions the blow. The unemployed make more than they did working under Communism.

The Kohl Government is now proposing to cut these and other programs to help an east that westerners see as ungrateful. Particularly unpopular is a 7.5 percent unification tax, especially because Mr. Kohl told West Germans the process would not require a tax increase.

But unification deserves only some of the blame. Scandinavian nations are trimming their social programs. Unemployment is high all over Europe. Some of Germany's cuts - like free stays at a health spa every four years instead of three hardly seem onerous. Indeed, parts of the west, notably Bavaria, are booming. The surprise is how

well Germany is doing despite its burden. The easterners' underlying problem may be less financial than psychological. While the Czechs and Poles are proud to be building their new nations, victorious over Communism, each new day reminds eastern Germans that they lost the cold war and must defer to the victors.

The most powerful position any easterner holds in Germany today is provincial governor. To many in eastern Germany, closing a factory is not a necessary economic adjustment but a cruel penalty of capitalism. East Germans thought of themselves as the stars of the Socialist economy. Now they are told their work was second-rate. Even if Dresden became as rich as Düsseldorf overnight, many eastern Germans would resent a process that seems to them less a marriage than an adoption.

## Signs of Summer's End

Beside a county road near the town of Hygiene, Colo., stands a cottonwood that turned completely yellow the second week of August. To southbound cyclists the tree lies hidden, lurking behind a sharp dip in the road. One coasts along in summer's full incumbency - the scent of hay practically creasing one's forehead - when all at once the asphalt slopes away, and the lone cottonwood presents itself, its leaves shimmering in a bright wind that suddenly seems autumnal, full of the hrittleness, the preternatural clarity of fall.

It is not as though anyone goes searching for autumn in the midst of summer. In most of America, those seasons have lost their traditional, agricultural meanings. Summer is now the harvest season - a harvest of leisure, of fresh vegetables from the garden. Inevitably, one tries to ignore the signs of summer's demise - the drying milkweed in the fields, the reddening sumac along the railroad tracks, the school buses. But sooner or later there comes a sign that is almost too portentous to ignore. and an extraous flight of black-

ground where Little Goose Creek flows. For just a single moment one could see, from the hluff overlooking the creek, what shape the flock had taken: it was a lens of blackbirds. It neared the crown of a great cottonwood, and one or two hirds plunged abruptly downward, dying on the wing it seemed into the hranches. The flock swirled, then sertled. There was a momentary hush, and then, as if a school bell had sounded, the tree erupted in chatter.

After a sight like that, one is almost ready to surrender summer. But not quite. The days are still hot in Wyoming, the evenings warm, the skies full of dry thunder. The ranchers are beginning to move cattle to the sale yards and railheads - a sure sign of fall, it's true - hut summer will reign for at least a few more days. Drive a pickup truck east of Sheridan, just to catch the evening, and one winds up chasing a Burlington Northern coal train at sunset past the grade crossing at Dutch Center, past a grain elevator, and into Wyarno. There the pavement ends and the train pulls ahead, its new aluminum coal cars gleaming in the last of the light. As

## Hold Private and Public Schools to Same Rules

To the Editor:

Several issues have not been raised in news articles on public financing of private or religious schools ("Ohio Paying Some Tuition for Religious School Students" and "Saying No to Private Schools at Public Expense," Education page, Aug. 28).

Public financing is intended to educate the children of the public-at-

large, not merely those successful enough to gain entrance and remain. Private and religious schools pick and choose among students. Every year, we in the public school system deal with dozens of former religious and private school students seeking placement; the reasons they and their parents give are illustrative. "I couldn't pay the tuition any more" or

Under Streetlights, the Vulnerable Huddle

To the Editor:

While your Aug. 26 editorial on child prostitution in Asia is an informed piece, I suggest that you venture over to 10th Avenue to witness the tragedy of child prostitution firstband.

Nearly 20,000 children, adolescents and young adults are living oo the streets of New York City. To survive, they are forced to engage in sex and illicit drug sales as their primary sources of income.

Unlike the stereotypical image of a young girl running away from bome and landing at the Port Authority Bus Terminal only to be pounced on by a pimp, most street youth are from the five boroughs or neighboring areas; they are predominantly youth of color and are overwhelmingly lesbian, gay and bisexual. Most have histories of sexual, emotional and physical abuse.

Their risks for H.I.V. infection are high because they are forced to engage in unsafe behavior by those who will pay more money or supply more drugs if condoms are not used.

Since most are also self-medicating (smoking crack cocaine), their resistance and inhibitions are diminished, leading to more unsafe behavior and risk-taking.

A small group of communityhased organizations is dedicated to working with these young people. Yet, financing for these programs is

In "Clintons and Carters Don't

Mix" (Op-Ed, Aug. 28), Douglas

Brinkley erred factually and by

omission. He portrayed a Democrat-

ic Party in 1992 that spirited Jimmy

Carter to its convention in the dark of

night. I was President Carter's liai-

son to the 1988 and 1992 party chair-

men, Paul Kirk and Ron Brown, who

strongly encouraged Mr. Carter's

role. Both times, Mr. Carter was

In 1992, Mr. Carter's speech re-

flected his personal enthusiasm for

the Clinton-Gore ticket. There were

celebrations both before and after,

and I attended the Carters' warm

private afternoon hour-and-a-half

meeting with the Cliotons and the

Gores. A few weeks later, the Clin-

tons and Gores were in Atlanta help-

ing the Carters hulld a house for

In all three past conventions, there

was no incumbent Democratic Presi-

dent. As the only former living Dem-

ocratic President, Mr. Carter felt a

special duty and role for the party.

Very different circumstances are

presented when there is an incum-

bent Democratic President seeking

re-election. Mr. Carter gave consid-

erable thought to his absence at this

convention and noted the precedent

of Truman's not attending Demo-

cratic conventions after he left of-

fice. Mr. Carter's statement af-

firmed his strong support for Presi-

The timing of Mr. Carter's 1992

In "How America Stiffs the Third

World" (Op-Ed, Aug. 27), Stephan-

Götz Richter misses the point about

United States foreign aid policy. The

United States offers developing na-

tions two benefits not as forthcoming

First, our market is more open to

imports from developing nations

than is that of any other industrial-

ized nation. United States demand is

the global economy's engine. This is

most evident with respect to China,

where no amount of aid will result in

true benefit to us, but where our

trade deficit nonetheless fosters de-

Second, United States investors

are quicker to provide vast amounts

of dollars to emerging markets, tn-

vestment flows have a greater im-

pact on development than does aid.

since investment builds the frame-

work for a self-sustaining future. Mr.

Richter should consider the dilemma

of developing nations should they be

deprived of American demand and

The writer is an international bank-

Siephan-Götz Richter (Op-Ed.

Aug. 27) would have us believe that

we live in a country of cheapskates

I am not bothered that Japan and

The Times welcomes letters from

readers. Letters must include the writ-

er's nome, address and telephone

number. Those selected may be short-

ened for space reasons. Fax letters to

(212) 556-3622 or send by electronic

mail to letters(anytimes.com, or by

regular mail to Letters to the Editor.

and shortsighted politicians.

investment.

ing consultant.

To the Editor:

RICHARO PHILLIPS

New York, Aug. 28, 1996

from Japan, Germany or France.

dent Clinton's re-election.

To the Editor:

featured in prime time.

Habitat for Humanity.

To the Editor:

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Though, as you say, the Stockholm cooference on the sexual exploitation of childreo "puts a welcome spotlight oo a multibillion-dollar industry that exploits the world's most vulnerable citizens," any streetlight in midtown Manhattan will illuminate the same activities at

Associate Executive Director Community Health Project

RICHARO HAYMES

New York, Aug. 27, 1996 The letter was also signed by representotives of four other community groups.

nomination was still an Issue, Mr.

Carter, with President Bush in the

Oval Office, was asked by reporters

for whom he had voted in the Geor-

gla primary. He replied, "Clinton,"

and proceeded effusively to explain

why. Mr. Carter has been to other

White House events besides the

meeting on the North American Free

Trade Agreement - including over-

nighting in the resideoce for the Mid-

dle East treaty signing and after the

I disagree there is "little love lost"

between these two men of the South

who are from distinct generations.

Their history dates back to the Clin-

toos' 1976 election work and Presi-

dent Carrier's appointment of Hillary

Rodham Clinton to the chalrmanship

While there are some within the

Administration who anonymously

seek to diminish Mr. Carter, Presi-

dent Clinton has been generous in his

There is a personal relationship

between these two exceptional men.

It is simplistic and negative to

accentuate occasional miscues by ei-

ther. I recall President Clinton's

calling Mr. Carter over the New

Year's holiday to extend best wishes.

The Carters were returning with

their grandchildren from Disney

World, and the 39th President's

grandson was soon talking with the

42d President about Space Moun-

Germany give more aid to develop-

ing countries than the United States

does. Neither Japan nor Germany

has to substantially support its mili-

tary; for 45 years the United States

has done so. And does Mr. Richter

not consider our support of democra-

Mr. Richter sees our projected

budget deficit of 1.9 percent of gross

national product as impressive. Just

because Germany, Japan and

France have messier finances does-

n't mean a \$3 trillion debt ls impres-

sive, nor does it mean that the United

States is a freeloader if our politi-

aging capitalism abroad, defending

developing democracies with military

might and being selective among

those to whom we give foreign aid are

No country has taxed its way into

prosperity. But if Mr. Richter has

figured out how to do that, I'd tove to

read about it in The New York Times

not shortsighted goals.

Reducing our national debt, encour-

cians are trying to curb spending.

cy in Haiti to be "aid"?

TERRY ADAMSON

Washington, Aug. 29, 1996

tain's thrills.

Developing Nations Rely on Our Investment

personal dealings with the Carters.

of the Legal Services Corporation.

successful Haiti mission,

being slashed by city and state agen-

way.

To the Editor:

The program in which Ohio provides parents with tuition vouchers (Education page, Aug. 28) is the first to ioclude religious schools. Concerning legislation I am sponsoring to introduce a similar voucher program in New York state, critics have said that it would further deteriorate the public school system. On the contrary, it would foster bealthy competition among all schools, improve education and reduce its escalating costs.

With the prospect of attracting students, voucher-financed schools would have powerful incentives to improve their education and build reputations to attract the most students. The voucher program would be the first step toward revamping the unsatisfactory school system in New York State. DOV HIKINO

Brooklyn, Aug. 29, 1996 The writer represents the 48th District in the New York State Assembly.

#### Carter-Clinton 'Coolness' Isn't the Reality S.A.T. Standard support was misstated. While the

To the Editor: While no doubt designed to further ingratiate the College Board with colleges, the board's upward revision of the Scholastic Assessment Test scores serves paradoxically to undermine its

legitimacy (Op-Ed, Aug. 28). As a former junior high English teacher, I have faced anxious parents wanting their 13-year-old children to take practice exams. There is no proven link between college performance and S.A.T. results, yet we continue to accept the board's imprimatur. Now we learn these results are inflated, and thus, are no results.

WILLIAM FITZGERALO New York, Aug. 28, 1996

To the Editor:

The Scholastic Assessment Test has never been an "unchanged standard" (Op-Ed, Aug. 28). Sincethe test began in 1926, the College Board has made various changes to it to accommodate improvements in psychometrics and the needs of American education. The latest change, which re-establishes the mean score at the center of the 200-800 scale, was necessary to maintain the S.A.T.'s statistical integrity and predictive validity. Those features had been compromised as mean scores shifted below the midpoint on verbal and math, stretching out scores near the top and compressing scores toward the bottom.

Diane Ravitch has put the cart before the horse. The S.A.T. is designed to assess student achievement. Since that purpose is best served by re-centering scores, it would have been irresponsible to retain the old scale simply for the convenience of those who use oational scores for symbolic pur-

PETER W. STANLEY Claremont, Calif., Aug. 29, 1996 The writer is choirman of the College Boord trustees.

#### Teaching Science

To the Editor:

ulum.

To the Editor: One reason Wayne R. Anderson's . students must rely on television for information on U.F.O.'s and possible government cover-ups (Op-Ed, Aug-29) is that most literature on these subjects is hard to find. In Manhattan. only the largest magazine stands and bookstores offer sections for periodicals covering such subjects. None of these are catalogued in standard reference sources. While publications including UFO, UFO Universe, Fortean Times and Perceptions have published articles documenting government cover-up of U.F.O. encounters, they may not meet the rigorous standard of Mr. Anderson's "skeptical inquirer." BRIAN CAMP Bronx, Aug. 29, 1996

Were Wayne R. Anderson to exam-

ine high school science and math curriculums, he would understand why.

Company

ARTHUR OCHS SUI ZBERGER, Chairman

MORGAN MURPHY

New York, Aug. 28, 1996

few college freshman can think about scientific matters (Op-Ed, Aug. 29). Using a teaching paradigm that... stresses memorizing to the exclusion of the scientific process, we teach sopoorly that even science majors understand little about methodology. No time is set aside to emphasize what science teaching should be about: refining one's commoo sense

about the world through a study of

the philosophy and logic of science

Thinking scientifically is just not

part of the typical high school curic

JOHN E. HELBOR

LEONARD P FORMAN, Senior Vice Posident DUNALD'S SCHNEIDER, Sensor Vice President

The New York Times 229 West 43d SL,N,Y, 10036-3959

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## If We Were Serious

By Richard Darman

MUNICIPALITY

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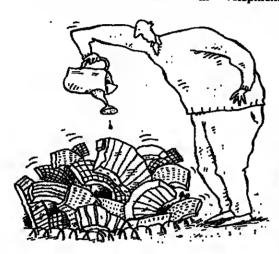
Same Rug

he prime-time convention shows have come to their balloon-drop endings. The minimovies, zingers and dramatic speeches are over. What follows now, we are told, is the "serious campaign."

That is a notion which many would dismiss as oxymoronic. But it has the virtue of suggesting an interesting question: What important issues might the candidates address if the campaign actually were serious?

The question is not put to dismiss what has been presented so far. Bill Clinton and Bob Dole have both recognized that a governing majority requires far broader appeal than either party's traditional base provides. They have both broadened their reach.

Bob Dole has distanced himself from the dour anti-government focus of the House Republicans by selecting Jack Kemp - signaling an interest in growth, while underlining his commitment to equal opportunity, inclusiveness and tolerance. Bill



Clinton has adopted a Reaganesque command of symbols and ceremony. declaring "hope is back." And he has again reversed himself on welfare and taxes, asserting "the era of big government is over." How much of this is to be taken

seriously, others may judge. Choices have been framed; whether to continue on the current path or pursue a bolder reach for growth; to rely on government or "trust the people"; to "bridge" forward or back to the future. The problem is that such formulations, though important, are abstract. As presented by the major candidates, they barely touch fundamental Issues America must face.

One such issue, growing middleclass entitiements, was mentioned in a convention speech, but not by any of the candidates. Colin Powell warned "condemning our children and grandchildren with a crushing burden of debt that will deny them the American Dream." He ooted, "We all need to understand it is the entitlement state that must be reformed, and not just the welfare state." Virtually all serious analysts agree: if entitiemens are not reformed before the baby-boom generation reaches age 60, the feel-good talk about recent progress on the deficit will be replaced by a sense of crisls.

The sensible course is to avoid a baby-boomer retirement shock by addressing the problem well in ad-

Richard Darman is former Director of the Office of Management and Budget (1989-93) and author of "Who Is in Control?"

vance. But the major candidates elther pretend the problem does not exist, propose to hand It to a commission, or wish it away with beroic assumptions about ecocomic growth. Indeed, while sidestepping the problem, the candidates actually act as if government were going to be long, not short, on revenue. Without providing credible proposals for spending reduction, both candidates offer the voters attractive tax cuts - what Ross Perot has termed "free candy just before elections."

لمكذا من ألاصل

The facts are these, however: There are good reasons public policy should seek to increase growth. These range from interests in reducing the deficit and financing Social Security to increasing opportunity for the poor and improving the quality of life for all. But growth is limited by labor-force participation and the rate of increase io productivity. These can and should be improved by cutting marginal tax rates and the tax on capital gains. But significant improvements in productivity also require radical improvements in education and training, and major breakthroughs in research and development. These, in turn, require

the expenditure of political and financial capital Even with these, the likely increase in growth would not suffice to offset too much free candy.

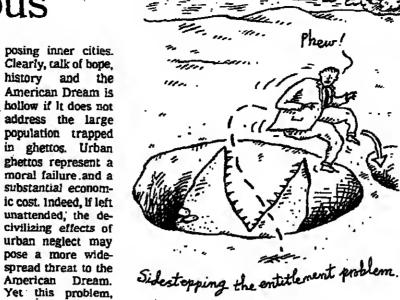
In any case, major improvements in long-term productivity growth take time to achieve. Meanwhile, the deficit cannot be eliminated by focusing on non-entitlements and using the new lineitem veto. The "anti-government" public and politicians care too much about expenditures for law enforcement, immigration control, drug

abuse prevention, air safety, environmental protection, biomedical research, and so on. So if the babyboomers are to avoid a shock, if the deficit is to be kept under control. and If a tax increase is to be avoided, entitlement reform will have to be faced promptly.

This issue is at the heart of the budget problem. Yet if it were merely budgetary, it would long since bave been solved. The dilemma is that entitlements principally involve the broad American middle that is key to electoral success. That is why entitlements are the "third rail"

of American politics and lend themselves to dema- ' ' ' ' ' ' goguery. They are treated ...... simplistically though they involve complex questions: Who in the middle class should be protected against exactly what risks? What should be the relative responsibility of government and individuals in assuring risk protection? What are the obilgations of working generations to generations too young or too old to work? Leadership is oceded to help frame responsible answers to just such difficult questions. Yet no candidate has trusted the people enough to risk a serious discussion.

A secood fundamental problem is as obvious as the first and as unattended: America's decom-



tracting a serious word. Jack Kemp deserves credit for being among the few major politicians to put the urban problem oo the national agenda. But, unfortunately, putting this problem on the ageoda and offering viable solutions are not necessarily the same. Jobs must be created near blighted areas, and tax incentives could help. But they cannot possibly suffice. A zero capital

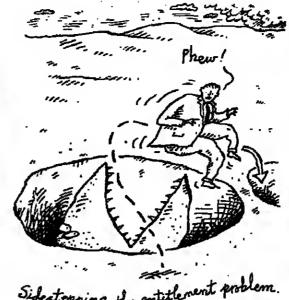
## Three issues for a true campaign.

gains rate will not counter the fear of

too, has difficulty at-

random violence or organized mayhem. Low marginal rates alooe will not produce healthy role models or families, effective education, a reduction in drug abuse, or the basics of a civilized infrastructure. Given the scale of the urban problem, very large amounts of public and private investment are required. And while the investment may pay for itself over generations, in the near term it means that in addition to tax incentives there must be significant spending. Yet these days, no major politician seems willing to admit publicly that great dreams cannot be achieved on the cheap.

A third fundamental problem is not quite as obvious as the first two. It is the flip side of a good thing: Americans can expect to live longer. The Census Bureau estimates that, in 2010, there will be more than 40 million Americans aged 65 and over. Six



million will be 85 and over - and that is before the baby-boomers reach 85. With breakthroughs in biomedical research, these numbers will be even more compelling. There is not only a very large generation headed toward retirement. But in the move from the 20th to the 21st century, something close to an additional generation is being added to expected life.

This will necessitate a minor cultural and economic revolution. It is not merely an issue of entitlement finance. Retirement ages will have to increase. Job and retraining opportunities will have to be developed. New community-living arrangements will have to be expanded. Profound issues of morality will have to be confronted.

Bob Dole has spoken eloquently of the "gracious compensations of age." At 73, he is healthy and active a symbol of the enormous potential represented by the growing numbers of healthy older Americans. He is perfectly positioned to raise national consciousness about the risks and opportunities presented by the aging of America.

the campaign moves into its "serious" phase, however, it may be naīve to imagine that candidates might actually treat us as if we could face serious problems seriously. Bill Clinton bas had four years to address these problems and has oot yet dooe so. And while elections elicit new proposals, they rarely produce serious discussion. The politicians are, naturally enough, trying to get elected. To get them to be serious, we ourselves would bave to be serious, And if balloons, simple oostrums and promises of free candy

think in post and

## Sadistic Yellow Vitriol

Liberties MAUREEN DOWD

From the boys-will-be-boys annals: Big Jim Folsom, also known as

Kissin' Jim Folsom, the bard-drinking, bigger-than-life Southern populist who was Governor of Alabama in the 50's, was in a tough race once when his aides warned him that his opponent had laid a trap. The rival camp was sending out a beautiful woman to try to maneuver Big Jim into a compromising position.

The Governor took the news calmly. "Boys," he drawled, "if they use that bait, they'll catch ol' Jim every time."

Candidates may campaign in cyberspace now, but some things never change. Whenever pols talk loudly about virtue, vice is sure to be lurking nearby. So it is not shocking that the amoral

look like a moral man has turned out to be an immoral man. It's really rich, though, the dizzy

man who tried to make the President

rise and fall of Dick Morris, Faust meets "Pretty Woman." It is undeniably amusing to have a

"leggy blonde," as the tabloids call Sherry Rowlands, sashay across the political stage, but the call girl's account of ber trysts with the Clinton strategist at the Jefferson Hotel in Washington seems too good to be true.

Would any guy actually try to impress a girl by giving her the draft of an endless Al Gore speech (aside from Al Gore, of course)?

Would Mr. Morris oeed to show off by letting his \$200-an-hour consultant listen to the President's voice when she was already, as Julia Roberts's pretty booker told Richard Gere, "a sure thing"? Were those discounts just a professional courtesy? And you gotta love a wannabe who likes to go out on the balcony and wave to his imaginary fans?

The alleged toe-nibbler tripping over the President's big speech was

poetic justice. Mr. Morris railed against "the sa-

distic vitriol of yellow journalism." And Clinton spinners, called once more into the breach, again argued that the press was tawdry for reporting persooal matters. But their protestations rang false,

delivered in the midst of a Democratic carnival of personal confessions, of calculated intrusions of private lives into public life, designed to win the votes of families and females. Exhibitionists are in no poare all we demand, that is probably sition to complain that others are about all we will get the looking, when the unedifying bits be. President who bas no clothes.

come as visible as the edifying ones. And then there was the problem of the Presideot's reflected unglory. If Scott Reed were caught in a scandal, it would not say much about Bob Dole. But many people believed that Dick Morris was Bill Clinton's double, and the disclosure of sexual impropriety did nothing to interfere with that possibility. The proteans booded because both put polls above principles, win-

ning above authenticity. As Mr. Clinton made him rich, Mr. Morris did not bother with the First Client's better angels. He addressed himself to the corruptible side of the President. Bill and Hillary Clinton, who like to act high-minded while cutting corners, bending the rules and changing the subject, eagerly made

#### 'War Room' to 'Pretty Woman.'

use of the mercenary's arts. The couple who decry cynicism hired the most conspicuous cynic of the era.

Mr. Morris said privately that Mr. Clioton was a hollow man. But maybe he meant it as a compliment. He brazenly told journalists be was running Mr. Clinton, who survived a public confession of infidelity in 1992, more as Pope than President, a moral force disciplining America's teenagers, a sober protector of home, family and conservative values.

Mr. Morris's nemeses at the White House are happy to see him go. But oow Mr. Clinton won't have Rasputin to kick around any more. The myth of the villainous, all-powerful Dick Morris served the President well. His lurch to the right could be described as the outcome of an internecine war on his staff, over which Mr. Clinton could seem to preside in an Olympian way, without real accountability.

The presence of Mr. Morris made it possible for Mr. Clinton to seem conservative and post-ideological at the same time. But from now on, it's Mr. Clinton himself against the liberals, if that is the way he wishes to go. The next time the welfare reform President chooses to sacrifice a liberal constituency, no alleged evil genius will be around to take the heat.

Never mind the racy bathrobe pictures from the Jefferson It is the 14-1-45 1-200



#### **Foreign Affairs**

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## Israel's Leadership Vacuum

Events always tend to move swiftly in the Middle East, but even for this region it is striking how swiftly all the bad ideas Israel's Prime Minister, Bibi Netanyahu, came into office with have been swept aside by the realities of his neighborhood. None of this should be surprising. It was obvious during the campaign that Mr. Netanyahu was very adept at playing on Israelis' anxieties about the Laborled peace process. But it was equally obvious that Mr. Netanyahu never had any plan of his own for delivering the "peace with security" that he promised. So his first 100 days have been characterized by a series of balfbaked proposals that bave gone nowhere - so much so that the Israeli press is full of talk about the leadership vacuum at the top in Israel.

Mr. Netanyahu tried to get Syria to help Israel out of Lebanon, but while refusing to offer Syria an Israeli exit from the Golan Heights. That went nowhere fast. He assumed he could get Yasir Arafat to cooperate on preventing violence, but without baving to sully himself by meeting Mr. Arafat. That plan came a cropper when Israel's President, Ezer Weizman, said he would meet with Mr. Arafat to keep the peace process alive, if Mr. Netanyahu didn't. Mr. Netanyahu assumed he could maintain good economic ties with the Arab states, even if he didn't advance the peace process much, but the threat by Egypt to caucel the Mideast economic summit set for Cairo in November, if Mr. Netanyahu wasn't more forthcoming to Palestin-

tans, killed that notion as well Mr. Netanyahu's dysfunctional first agree on who would lead their side. into a very, very serious crisis.

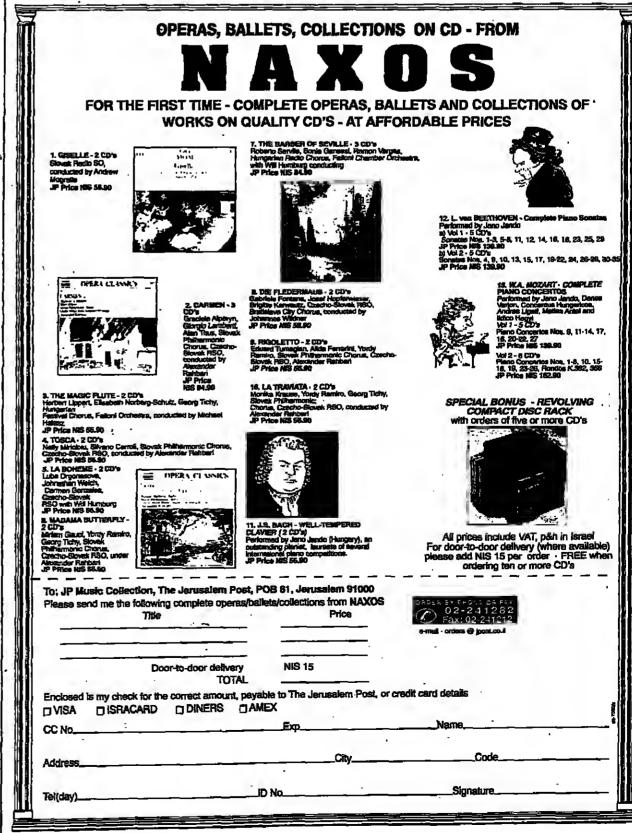
## 100 days and counting.

100 days. One is that he would truly prefer to freeze Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Syrian relations where they are - with oo further peace moves, but with no deterioration to war. Because to take any serious further steps toward peace would force him to rethink his ideology and to expose Israel to war would destroy him with his public. But this leaves him walking in place, and exposed to the latest, greatest pressure. So when his settler constituency is mad, be throws them a bone of a new settlement. When the Arabs ger mad, he tries to appease them with a meeting. It would be unfair to expect Mr. Netanyahu to carry out the Labor peace policles. But he has offered no coherent initiative for delivering peace with security that would have his own unique stamp on it and have some credible prospect for success.

The second reason is that Mr. Netanyahu has so few people around him whom he trusts. Many of his Cabinet colleagues are rivals who despise him, and the feeling is mutual. So he and his aides are fighting constant turf wars with others. Foreign Minister David Levy met with Mr. Arafat last month, agreed to resume negotiations and then nothing happened because Mr. Levy and Mr. Netanyahu couldn't Mr. Netanyahu demands that Mr. Arafat close certain Palestinian offices in Jerusalem, he does it, and then Mr. Netanyahu responds by expanding Jewish settlemeots, bulklozing an "illegal" Palestinian center for the disabled and blocking Mr. Arafat from flying his helicopter to the West Bank, humiliating the Palestinian leader and bampering his ability to further compromise with Israel All this at a time when Israeli security officials say Mr. Arafat has been very effectively preserving the peace. (Now, under pressure from America, Egypt and his own security officials, Mr. Netanyahu is trying to defuse the tension by exploring a framework for reviving negotiations with Mr. Arafat.) . The third reason, as Israel's lead-

ing columnist, Nahum Barnea, pointed out, is the "arrogance" and "thickbeadedness" of the Netanyahu team. which came in assuming they could simply dictate to the Palestinians and not treat them as partners. Mr. Netanyahu acts as if life is

"Larry King Live." His first impulse is to try to deflect or sound-bite his way out of problems, rather than really opening his mind to evolving realities: He often bas the answer before he bears the question. Yet, be bas aspirations to greatness. That's good. But to achieve such greatness is going to require a much more fundamental relearning than he realizes. If be does that, he can bring to Israeli society a consensus about moving forward that no one else can. If he doesn't do that relearning, he not only will miss out on the personal greatness to which he aspires, but he also will plunge Israel



# Spiritual Values Are In, But, Please, No Sermonizing

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

OR much of its history, when Hollywood made a religious movie, it left little to the imagination. Oceans parted, bearded prophets led surging crowds, and God's voice roared from on high.

Such chapter-and-verse literalism. of the sort found in Cecil B. DeMille's "Ten Commandments," may be a thing of the past, but religious messages can still be found in the movies. The difference, these days, is that cinematic spirituality tends to be subtle, a below-the-radar subtext for those (to borrow a biblical phrase) who have eyes to see or ears to hear.

Some moviegoers found cinematic sermons writ large in the defiance of the Scottish rebels of "Braveheart," the moral transformation of a death row prisoner in "Dead Man Walking" and even the persistent courtesy of the talking pig in "Babe."

A timely example of this trend is "The Spitfire Grill," which opened last week to critical praise. In it, Alison Elliott plays Percy Talbott, a young woman who finishes a fiveyear sentence in a Maine prisoo and serves ber parole in rural Gilead. She finds a job in the diner owned by Hannah Ferguson (Ellen Burstyn) that gives film its title, and she befriends a local woman named Shelby Goddard (Marcia Gay Harden).

The film's popularity at the Sundance film festival in January woo it the Audience Award, though the movie industry was stunned when Castle Rock Entertainment paid \$10 million for it, a Sundance record. The buzz turned to dismay in some quarters when it turned out that "The Spltfire Grill" had been made by a religious organization.

A tear-jerker about Percy's reconciling effect on the village, the film barely meotions God and studiously avoids religious symbols like Roman collars, prayer books and stained glass. But the company that made "The Spitfire Grill" says many viewers have identified its message as redemption, a broad religious con-

The film was financed by Gregory Productions, the for-profit arm of the Sacred Heart League, a Roman Catholic charitable organization based in Mississippi. Its mission statement says Gregory Productions exists to promote Judeo-Christian values, especially reverence for

Last fall, when Gregory invited to see the film, it distributed a brochure on the group's mission to the 40 representatives who attended. At Sundance, Gregory made no effort to hide or to publicize its affiliation, but the connection was not generally known and prompted some movie people to wonder if the film might be proselytism in disguise.

That was the furthest thing from our mind," said Roger Courts, executive director of Gregory Productions and director of the Sacred Heart League, which made the film for \$6.1 million. "Catholics are encouraged not to proselytize."

The writer and director of "The Spitfire Grill," Lee David Zlotoff, who is Jewish, said he told Gregory executives at the outset that he would oot help them make a religious film. "I was more interested in telling a good story," Mr. Zlotoff said. "If a story has lots of levels and possibilities of meaning, I say it's a good story.

As for the negative voices at Sundance, he said, "To me, it just seems to point to a very bigb level of cynicism these days.

Nonetheless, the concern raised by those movie executives was telling, suggesting that for some the perception that a film contains a subtle religious message renders it suspect. It is as if moviegoers must be protected from religious ideas or affiliations not explicitly identified as such, as if these ideas must be intellectually set apart rather than wov-

story's characters.

Because film makers are people with opinions, no movie can be valueoeutral without risk of being utterly vacuous. Eveo if a film's producers describe it as "pure entertainment," it can hardly lack a viewpoint about human relations or say nothing about what sort of behavior wins the

Every time an Arnold Schwarzenegger picks up a weapon to settle a dispute or a Meg Ryan perseveres against the odds to find true love or a cartoon Pocahontas delivers a tribute to the environment, a message about how to live is aimed at the audience.

Last year, "Braveheart" thrilled conservative evangelicals who saw in it a clear message that God's law is superior to the law of the state.

Religious themes - serious or otherwise - have long appealed to film makers. Consider some fall and winter releases: "Breaking the Waves," a Danish film, set in 1960's Scotland, about a strict religious sect's power over a woman; 'The Crucible,' based on Arthur Miller's play about the Salem witch trials; "Michael," with John Travolta as a womanizing archangel in Iowa, and "The Preacher's Wife," a remake of "The Bish-op's Wife" of 1947, with Whitney Houston in the Loretta Young role and Denzel Washington as the angel played by Cary Grant.

"Entertainment," said Margaret

'Lots of films use spirituals. Does that make them religious?"

R. Miles, a dean at Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, Calif., "is the mask for the communication of all kinds of things."

Professor Miles, who is also the author of "Seeing and Believing: Religion and Values in the Movles," said movies communicate religious values when they prompt people to reflect on their lives or on their relationships to others or to God. That occurs, she said, "under the guise of thinking about the lives of some film characters."

Asked to name a recent film that did just that, she cited "Dead Man Walking," in which Susan Sarandon portrayed a real-life nun, Sister Helen Prejean, a dedicated opponent of communion the death penalty who works with moment in which a dead man hands condemned prisoners in Louisiana.

Dead Man Walking" seems to have caught the imagination of a wide spectrum of religious viewers. James Wall, editor of The Christian Century, a moderately liberal Protestant magazine, said that regardless of the director Tim Robbins's intent, the movie "commends the Christian faith as a way of facing the greatest crisis, which is one's own death."

Speaking from a more conservative perspective, Ted Baehr, chairman of Good News Communications in Atlanta, hailed it as a movie with 'clear evangelistic principles." He called "Dead Man Walking," "Braveheart" and the film version of 'Les Misérables' movies whose religious values appear so clear they 'could have been made by the Billy Graham Association."

Mr. Baehr's organization publisbes Movie Guide, a biweekly magazine that rates movies according to artistic merit and moral content. With an eye to Hollywood's bottom line, be reminds studio executives that "family films" - G- and PGrated fare, with or without religious themes — do much better at the box office than R-rated films.

The population, Mr. Baehr asserts, is aging, its cinematic tastes growing more staid, and interest in religion is picking up.

Earlier this year, Good News,

en unobtrusively into the lives of a which recently opened an office in Los Angeles, selected "Dead Man Walking" for its first annual award honoring a movie that the organization deems to bave helped people "know God better." Mr. Baehr said Good News had come up with a list of no fewer than 16 other movies that could as easily have won the award.

Most receotly, he said, he was taken by Disney's "Hunchback of Notre Dame," with its Christian images in the cathedral's stained glass and its scenes of prayer. "The movie is explicitly Christian," he said.

In the "Spitfire Grill," Mr. Baehr said, he was impressed with the characterizations of forgiveness, reconciliation and self-sacrifice. "I think they bent over backwards not to be religious," he said of the film makers. Nonetheless, he called the movie a "theological piece."

Mr. Wall, of The Christian Century, said he had not yet seen "The Spitfire Grill" and so could not comment on it. But he said he had been disturbed by the criticism of the movie, adding that suspicion of the financial involvement of Gregory Productions amounted to a bias against religious people.

'You judge a movie based oo what you are seeing," he said. "If you feel you're being proselytized, walk out and demand your money back."

Indeed, proselytism may be largely in the eyes of the beholder. Take 'Babe," for example. Mr. Wall was not alone among religious movie critics in finding in the story of the cheerful pig a distinct value system that you can get along with others if you're nice to them.

Mr. Wall said John Ford's 1956 masterpiece, "The Searchers," provided an example of Christlan values on the big screen. The movie stars John Wayne, in what many call his greatest role, as a former Confederate soldier embarked on a violently obsessive, seven-year search for a niece abducted by American Indians.

"John Ford's Catholicism is working on you in that film," Mr. Wall said. With tongue partly in cheek, he added, "If you're not careful, you'll come out thinking it's better to forgive than to seek revenge."

But will audiences think "The Spitfire Grill" is preaching at them? The film can be taken as a secular story. virtually devoid of the overt religious scenes of, say, Hugh Hudson's 1981 film, "Chariots of Fire," which featured a Scripture-quoting missionary as an Olympic sprinter, or Robert Benton's "Places in the 'Heart," a 1984 tale of a farm family's struggle, which ends with a his killer the communion plate.

No preacher sets foot on the screen in "The Spitfire Grill." Percy and Shelby meet twice in the village church, but the building is derelict, stripped of religious symbols. Percy carries a book, from which she reads aloud, but it is "The Odyssey," not a New Testament.

Yet religious references seem to abound. Gilead, the name of the village, is well known in the Bible, which links it with healing. Gilead's founding is mentioned in Genesis, and later, the prophet Jeremiah speaks of a "balm," a medicinal resin, to be found there.

In the film's gentlest moment, Percy walks through the woods, singing the refrain of an African-American spiritual ("There is a balm in Gilead, to make the wounded whole ... "), befriending a mysterious character in the process.

But to focus on these elements was to read a religious message into his story, Mr. Zlotoff said.

His fictional village takes its name from a real town in northern New England, largely for logistical reasons. "I was looking at a map of Maine, and there it was," he said. "I needed a town that was near a national wilderness." Only afterward did he decide to have Percy sing the hymn. "Lots of films use spirituals," Mr. Zloroff said. "Does that make them religious?"

In Mr. Courts's view, "The Spitfire



Alison Elliott, left, Ellen Burstyn and Marcia Gay Harden in "The Spitfire Grill"

Grill" is partly about hospitality. 'That's a good Judeo-Christian value," he said, "and a value in any moral person's vocabulary."

At the Memphis screening last fall, a few miles from Gregory Production's beadquarters in Southaven, Miss., Mr. Courts said, area residents described their reactions in language that moviegoers would use about any film. They liked the absence of sex and violence and appreciated too that the characters could sort out what was important in life from what was not.

"I've often felt inspired by movles," Mr. Courts said. "There have been a lot of movies that I wish we had made, whose effect has been wholesome and salutary." As an example, he cited "Schindler's List."

ACRO55

1 Labor Party, in

6 Not as outgoing

20 Somnolent state

21 Filmdom's Peter

22 "Nobody wants

25 Passeport datum

30 "Vote early and vote

40 Aristocratic beliefs

44 It's said to be not as

45 Comparative words

lovely as a tree

50 By the time we've

made it, we've had

47 Grayish green

54 British parent,

SS Open school grp.

59 Walk like a vamp

67 Word with ticket or

73 Salvador's country,

57 Reddish-brown gem

49 Excuse

56 Add-on

58 Squealer

61 Honda rival

64 Out of port

66 Get but good

26 Kitchen finish

England

19 Upper jaw

iustice

27 Puppet

29 Let go

33 Dime ---

35 More divine

38 Work unit

24 New version

I3 Cut

In fact, Steven Splelberg's 1993

businessman to rescue several thousand Jews from the Holocaust is a case in point about how people attuned to thinking about religious values can find them in a popular movie - in this instance, one that could be viewed entirely as historical drama.

To the Rev. Ellwood (Bud) Kieser. 67, a Catholic who is president of Paulist Pictures in Hollywood, "Schindler's List" was "a profoundly religious picture," centering on human suffering and how God can work for good through a flawed individual who has come face to face with the demonic.

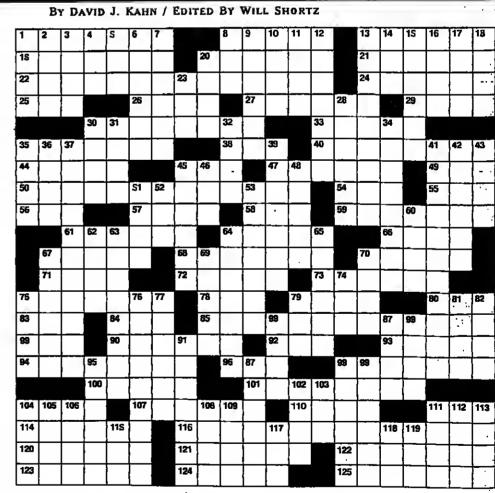
At Paulist Pictures, Father Kieser produced "Romero," a film blography of El Salvador's murdered Archbishop, starring Raul Julia, and will soon release "Entertaining Angels," an obviously religious..movie about movie about the efforts of a German . Dorothy Day, a founder of the Catholic Worker movement.

Father Kieser said he did not care for didactic, Sunday-school-style movies about religion. A movie need never mention God, he said, but can still convey to audiences "the reality of God," He cited "The Shawshank Redemption," a 1994 movie about a friendship that develops between two prisoners, played by Morgan Freeman and Tim Robbins.

God's name went unspoken in the movle, except when it was taken in vain, Father Kieser said. Nonetheless, he credited the film as offering a hymn to human dignity. "If God is the realest of the real," he added, "then the more reality a picture has, the closer it is to God.'

But whether moviegoers perceive and appreciate what they see on the big screen in that way is another matter. "They can make up their own minds," he said, "about whether they buy into it or not."

#### WHO SAID THAT?



110 Song syllables

111 Curator's degree 114 Be pregnant 116 "If I were two-faced. would I be wearing this one?"

124 Impurity

4 Author-

Yutang

6 Overcharge

7 Dentist's target

feature: Abbr.

12 Gerrymanders

"Every time a

5 Years ago, years

68 "I used to be Snow White, but I drifted" 120 Magazine 70 Dawdle illustration 121 Spree 71 Ring conteots? 122 Broke out 72 Fawn-colored antelope 123 Treeless tract

75 Act of law DOWN 1 Govt. agent 78 Suffix with expert 2 Ring to wear 79 Ho Chi Minh trail locale 3 Midyear, e.g.

83 Social worker? 84 Constellation next to Scorpius 65 "It's not easy bein"

60 Bill in the till

8 Angel's wish 89 Start of a vol. 1 6 Nautical rope 10 Monogram 90 Broadway's fale? 92 Some promos 11 Prefix with

93 Simpletons 94 Italian noblewoman 96 Georgia, once: Abbr. 98 Supermarket device 100 Composer Bruckner

friend succeeds. l die a little' 101 "Start every day off with a smile and get 14 Bothered, with

1S Iman, at birth 16 Imposture 17 Sommer of film

16 li's done 20 One of TV's 23 Indy 500 advertiser

26 Automatons 30 Actor McCowen 31 Wheels for wheels 32 Handy to

34 Light cotton fabrics 35 Foxes, e.g. 36 Fire -37 "You'd be surprised how much it costs to look this cheap" 125 Purchase incentive

36 Bribed, so to speak 41 "Everything you see I owe to spaghetti" 42 in an unspeakable 43 Talented one

45 House support 46 Do lawn work 48 Adlai's 1956 running

51 Grueling 3-Down, for short 52 ——jongg 53 Comparatively

60 Ankles, anatomically 62 Der — (Adenauer) 63 Wrong 64 Some wedding gifts 65 Diamond stats 67 The way of the gods

69 Equally 70 Track event 74 Twaddle

75 W.W. II participant 76 Wit is educated insolence'

77 Judge 79 Stopper **81** Detecting ability 82 Elbetributary 86 Dramatist Connelly

67 Mild oath 88 Peaty areas 91 Roof type 95 Fill 67 Workout garb

66 Popular product

1948 Oscar winner

118 Gist 119 Tax consultant.

102 Bakery offering

103 Cartesian words

166 Place for a vault

109 Fleming villain

connections

111 Early feminist

112 Vamoose

113 Common

115 Climax

117 Owns:

108 Construction piece

104 Drinks: Abbr.

105 Kind of poll





Loretta Young and Monty Woolley, above, in "The Bishop's Wife," a 1947 fable with Cary Grant as a guardian angel. "The Preacher's Wife," a remake, will star Whitney Houston and Denzel Washington. 407 Kind of kick comes a sign that is aimiost too por terre-

few nights ago, an enormous flight of black- num coal cars gleaming in the last of the original states and the original states are the original states and the original states are the original states and the original states are the original states احكذا من الاحل

## Good faith in contracts

**ASHER FELIX LANDAU** 

N the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals, before the President Justice Aharon Barak and Justices Eliezer Goldberg and Yitzhak Zamir, in the maner of Ya'acov Klemer, appellant, versus Meir and Sara Guy, respondents (C.A.986/93).

mizine

CONTRACTOR OF THE

Klemer, who owned a piece of land, entered into a "combined transaction" with Meir and Sara Guy. The latter, through a contractor, were to build two houses on the land, on one balf a home for Klemer, and on the other half one for themselves. Klemer undertook, in return, to transfer to them the half on which their home was

The houses were built, but Klemer refused to transfer the land. The respondents then lodged a claim in the Tel-Aviv District Court for an order on him to do so. The court gave the order, and Klemer appealed to the Supreme

JUSTICE ZAMIR delivered the first judgment. Klemer submitted, he said, that there was no completed agreement between the parties. He also argued that if any agreement was reached, it was invalid since it was "a transaction in immovable property" which was only verbal, and not in writing as required by section 8 of the Land Law of 1969.

The District Court found there was a completed verbal agreement. It also upheld the claim on the ground that Klemer's obligation of good faith lowards the respondents was sufficient to justify the order they requested, even if no written agreement had been

The District Court judge who heard the evidence had retired, and the judgment was given by another judge who relied on the transcript. Although an appeal court usually refrains from dealing with questions of fact, Justice Zamir, in the circumstances, analyzed the facts in detail, and agreed with the District Court that a verbal agreement had been

UNDER section 12(a) of the Contracts (General Part) Law of 1973, he continued, "a person, in negotiating a contract, shall act in customary manner and in good faith". Also section 39 of that Law required that "an obligation or right arising out of a contract shall be fulfilled or exercised in customary manner and in good faith".

After reviewing several precedents, he said there was a conflict of opinion as to wbether the absence of good faith could justify enforcement of a verbal contract relating to "a transaction in immovable property".

In the present case, bowever, he found no necessity to answer that

The parties before the court, he said, did oot enter into an ordinary "transaction in immovable property". Theirs was a "combined transaction" involving two separate obligations. The respondents undertook to build on the property, and Klemer undertook to transfer their rights to the property. Moreover, the combined transaction had almost been completed. The respondents had erected the huilding, Klemer had taken possessioo of his share, and the respondents had possession of theirs. Now it was Klemer's turn to transfer to the respondents their rights, and he refused to do so. Mnst Klemer's obligation now not be recognized because there was no written agreement?

After reviewing further authorities, he held the documents showed a "combined transaction" between the parties, as distinguished from an ordinary building transaction. If the documents were not enough to establish that the parties' reached the stage of actual obligations, the partial implementation of the transaction both parties taking possession of their portions - was more than sufficient to prove that the parties completed the "combined transaction", all the principal features of which appeared in the documents and in the very buildings them-

He proposed, therefore, that the appeal be dismissed, and Klemer be ordered to pay the respondents' costs in the sum of 25,000 NIS.

JUSTICE BARAK concurred in dismissing the appeal. He agreed with Justice Zamir that the requirement of a written agreemeot laid down by section 8 of the Land Law had not been complied with in this case, but he disagreed with his opinion that the partial implementation of a "combined transaction" could take the place of a written agreement under that

Nevertheless he agreed to the dismissal of the appeal on the ground of Klemer's absence of good faith as required by the relevant sections of the Contracts (General Part) Law, Those provisions should be applied with great care only in the most extreme circumstances where elementary fairness demanded that course. and this was such a case.

Justice Goldberg also agreed with Justice Zamir that the appeal be dismissed. He was wary of limiting the application of section 8 of the Land Law. However, he agreed with the President that in appropriate cases in which, as one scholar bad written, "overlooking the demand of 'good faith' would lead to a hard and unjust result opposed to the basic principles of fairness", the principle of good faith should be applied. That was the case here.

For the above reasons the appeal was dismissed, with costs in the sum of 25,000 NIS. Yehuda Ressler appeared for

Klemer, and Advocate Neeman appeared for the respondents.

The judgmeot was giveo oo June 12, 1996.

## 'Living as happily as God in France

Western Europe's largest **Jewish** community finds plenty of room to flourish, Tom Tugend writes from **Paris** 

THE Jewish community of France, the largest in Western Europe, is a study in cootrasts. On the hright side, French Jewry is living in a golden age, in which a Jew can aspire to the highest positions in the land, and its relationship to Israel is closer than any other Diaspora community. On the somber side, the primary communal institutions are outmoded and in a state of barely suppressed mutual hostility, intermarriage is sky-rocketing, and French Jewry's cultural pre-eminence - like that of France in general - is oo the

The appraisal comes from Jean-Jacques Wahl, the deputy- director (and soon to be director) of the Alliance Israelite Universelle and its international educational network.

At 47, Wahl, who traces his French-Jewish lineage back to the Middle Ages, is young enough to tell it as he sees it, and experienced enough to be considered one of the most astute observers of French Jewry. There are no exact figures on

how many Jews live in France today, but Wahl's educated guess puts the number at between 500,000 and 750,000, of whom perhaps one-third to one-half are affiliated with synagogues and Jewish clubs. The Jewish community more than doubled in size after World War II, thanks to massive immigratioo from Algiers, Tunisia and Morocco, but the population has now stabilized.

While the old Yiddish saying that someone "lives as happily as God in France, may be less apt oow, life is good for the majority of French Jews. Currently, being Jewish is "in," at least in artistic and intellectual circles. "You hear lots of people saying proudly, 'My grandmother was Jewish' or 'I am married to a Jew," says

"In a sense, we are living in a time akin to Jewry's golden age io Spain, wheo you could be Jewish and obtain any position in society," he continues. "A Jew can now become prime minister or eveo an archbishop," notes Wahl. (Indeed, the present Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger, speaks proudly of his Jewish roots, and a venerable gag bas it that Paris has a Sephardi chief rahbi and an Ashkenazi archhishop.)

While the road to the pinnacle is open to most Jews, even those



them in a country where Jews can ride high.

who stress their Jewish identity, and France, the fact that almost ary note for band-wringers. "You there is a catcb.

"A truly observant Jew, who keeps kosher and won't travel on Shabbat, can't rise to the top," avs Wahl. "The story of the American-Jewish ambassador to Belgium, who koshered the U.S. embassy in Brussels, that couldn't happen with a French

emhassy. As for the future, Wahl reflects on Jewish history. "All golden ages come to an end," he says. "The only question is when?" munity's relationship to Israel, which Wahl describes as "the

Another hright spot is the commost specific trend in Freoch Jewry." The close relationship is huttressed mainly by the short traveling distance between Israel

all French Sephardim have relatives in Israel, and the presence of what Wahl calls "imaginary Zionists," who look on Paris as a suburb of Tel Aviv.

can't measure assimilation by

these figures," he says. "Thirty

One outcome of these combined circumstances-is that practically all Jewish students in France have been to Israel, usually more than once, resulting in a high Hebrew literacy rate. "In the summer, half of France's Jews are in Israel," says Wahl.

AS IN THE United States, and most other Diaspora communities, social acceptance bas its downside. The generally accepted intermarriage rate stands at 50 percent, identical to the American figure, but Wahl adds a caution-

years ago, if Jews interman they cut their links to the comnity. Now it's more part process in which some retheir ties to the Jewish comm ty and others come back later

When an American vis refers to the old bromide Jewish communal life, "take Jews and get three opinio Wahl responds emphatically, France, it's worse. The between our organizations is of our main problems." Among the chief organizat

are CRIF (Conseil Represendes Institutiones Juive de Frai as the political spokesman; Consistoire Central Israelite France as the supreme relig body; the Fonds Social Juif France as the primary social v fare agency; and Wahl's Allia Israelite Universelle. Wahl cheerfully admits that

organization, as all the oth lacks any democratic input f its constituents. The Consist he adds, was created by Napol and still runs on the same pri ples, with an Orthodox leader estranged from a largely n Orthodox community.

The real Jewish life ta

place outside the main organ uons," says Wahl.

Much of that "real" life is in cultural sphere, and bere choice is wide but the level le than in the good old days French hegemooy. As in America, "much

Jewish culture has become par the general culture," says Wa with Jews strongly represented the movies, television and t

In any given week, there i wider selection of cultural, in lectual and artistic offerings Paris than in Loodon NewYork, the widely trave Wahl believes, but the level both general and Jewish cult has declined over the past t generations.

There are few outstandi artists and thinkers of world st. dard" in France today, says Wa and that also holds true for Jew culture and Jewish studies. The painful subject of Frec

collaboratioo under Nazi occuj tion still has not been laid to re but Wahl cautions against fac judgments. "There was probat the same proportion Frenchmen who saved Jews those who actively collaborat with the Nazis," says Wal "Most of the people just did

## Hidden death traps: Land mines still not outlawed

AST week, once again, the proposers of new additions at work in mine disposal today. to the Geneva Convention failed in their attempts to outlaw land mines. To parts of the world this went unnoticed, for they bave never been plagued with this particularly grisly aftermath of warfare. But for others, in many countries, this was a critical issue. For this is is a war that never ends. Eighty percent of its victims are civilians, many of them women and children.

Years after hostilities in a given area have ceased, the toll of victims still mounts. And there is no bopeful end in sight. The cause of these casualties is the vast number of unexploded land mines left behind by opposing forces at the time of the original conflict.

According to the best available estimates there are somewhere around 100 million land mines still planted in the earth in various areas. Maps of their placement no longer exist - if they ever did, and each and every mine is a potential killer, or at least maimer, of the unsuspecting person who steps on

In the past 20 years, slightly over one million men, women and children have been maimed or killed by mines left over from previous

According to the International Red Cross it would take 30 years to detect and destroy all the left over land mines strewn throughout the Afghanistan countryside by the Soviet Union and the opposing rebel forces. Dozens of people are killed or lose limbs every year from these mines.

In Cambodia it is estimated that there are 10 million mines left over from previous conflicts.

Recently the United States sent a team of demolition experts to Cambodia to train local sappers in the detection and removal of land mines. Their situation was the

Neither the instructors or the students, who daily risk their lives in this task, were even horn when the

mines were planted. Nor were most of the potential victims of this grim and deadly legacy. But these are oot the only places with such a hidden danger. Millions of mines still lie hidden in Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Somali, Sudan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Egypt as well as dozens

of other places including many

spots in Europe where mines left over from World War II still lurk just below the surface. But eveo as efforts are being made to locate and dismantle these hidden death traps in many places, new mine fields are being laid down today in other spots of this troubled world.

Tens of thousands of land mines are being laid every week in areas of the former Yugoslavia, in areas of the breakaway republics of the former Soviet Union, in Rwanda, along the borders of Tanzania and again in the jungles of South America and some places in

Because of the long active life of these booby traps, the difficulty and danger of locating and disman-

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tling them once conflict has ended. and the frightful toll these mines

take of life and limb of the innocent, the International Red Cross has repeatedly tried to get land mines declared an unlawful

weapon. But to no avail. The land mine is cheap to produce, easy to deploy and highly effective.

It is doubtful that any nation with a standing army would opt out of the possibility of continuing to use this weapon of devastation.

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## Sharansky: I won't be dustrialists' nouthpiece

DAVID HARRIS

USTRY and Trade Minister n Sharansky will not act as a thpiece for the Manufacturers ciation, the minister told The salem Post yesterday.
raditionally the ministry was

as a mouthpiece for industrialhe said "I have made it clear I don't feel myself comfortable e role of being a mouthpiece inybody." However, Sharansky it is still his responsibility "to e sure the point of view of strialists is taken into account the discussions taking place." st week Sharansky convened a ting between the association Bank of Israel Governor Jacob kel, whose policies have been tized by the organization for last three years. "They didn't e on many things," said ansky, "but they agreed it was i such a meeting took place." or the first time in many years

discussions were held face-toand not through the media, ransky added. He denied be is ig as a pawn for the industrial-They make sure their view is wn to me, and I make sure their it of view is know to those who making decisions," he said. ne latest in a long line of dis-

's between industrialists and the emment is over the speed of the posure program," which opens market up to cheaper imports the reduction of border duties. raeli producers in a variety of istries are calling on the governit to offer them greater protecand slow down the pace of the gram, which has been running e 1991 and is scheduled for pletion in September 2000. le is our minister, but we never it to use him as an instrument, as

amplifier," said Manufacturers ociation president Dan Propper ting With Frenkel as "to the ropper-described-last-week's but "not constructive." ile there was general agreement .! period, and even a possible essionary crisis, Propper said

re were two major differences ween the parties: the causes of problems and their remedy. he central bank wants to put the ponsibility for recovery on the ernment's back, but the associa-1 favors a single national policy, from the bank, said Propper. respite Propper's calls for a large uction in interest rates, as posed to the 1.2 percent decrease er the last two months, Frenkel d high interest rates will have to

nain in place for now to ensure

g-term price stability.

## Budget deficit already exceeds target for all of '96

Central bank: Tax hikes imperative if cuts not increased

Jerusalem Post Staff

THE government's domestic spending in August exceeded its domestic earnings last month by NIS2.089 billion, the Finance Ministry's accountant general yesterday reported. Since the beginning of the year the government's local deficit has reached NISS.6b., well above the NIS7.6b. targeted for the entire year.

During last year's first eight months the government deficit totalled NIS5.3b. Senior Bank of Israel sources said

might ultimately be compelled to raise taxes, unless it manages to launch a drastic budget cut that

would pertain to this fiscal year. Finance Minister Dan Meridor may have hinted at such a prospect when he said yesterday he saw as "undesirable" a deficit which was accumulated to finance an improvement in the general standard of liv-

government's budget-cut in response that the government plan, which has yet to win the

the part of the Treasury.

In all, the government's local spending last month totalled NIS10.05b. while its revenues reached only NIS 7.96b. Capital raised from the public this month totalled NIS 569m.

Since the beginning of the year the Peres and Netanyahu governments have spent a combined NIS80.6b, while their local earnings totalled NIS72b.

Capital raised locally over that period, including privatizations, totalled NIS 3.4b.

#### **BUSINESS BRIEFS**

Korean parliamentarians on visit seeking closer economic ties: A delegation of four senior Korean parliamentarians, lead by former Interior Minister Lee Han Dong, is in Israel this week.

The group, which is believed to be looking at forming closer economic ties with Israel, is scheduled to meet with Prime Minister David Harris Binyamin Netanyahu this afternoon.

Exports of polished diamonds rose 10 percent in August to \$196 million from the same period last year, according to Industry and

Trade Ministry figures published yesterday. In the first eight months of the year, exports rose to \$2.583b. from 52.539 during the same period last year.

Kohl, Chirac reaffirm support for EU single currency: German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Jacques Chirac yesterday reaffirmed their joint support for a EU single currency as planned in 1999 and said the EU's farmers needed help now.

The two men, meeting at Kohl's bungalow next to the Bonn chancellery, said there was no reason to consider wavering from the Maastricht Treaty's strict criteria despite what the German leader called some "light and shadows" in their economies. Reurer

## Provident funds' August yields estimated at 0%

### Half of mutual funds show positive yields last month

THE large provident funds, whose monthly yields will be published next week, are expected to announce average returns of zero percent for August, but the banking sector is divided as to whether these vields will be nominal or real.

If the funds publish positive real yields, August will have been the first month since April in which they do not register negative returns. The real yield in August is calculated according to the known index, which was 0.3%.

Meanwhile, investment firm Meitav reported that nearly half the mutual funds achieved positive real yields in August, reflecting the financial markets' accelerated trading recently.

Fund managers, who expressed hopes that improved yields would stern the redemption trend which dominated the markets since which invested in the capital market

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

January 1995, said returns improved toward the end of the month thanks to the the stock market's improved performance.

The provident funds have recently registered heavy redemptions of about NIS3 billion per month, partly as a result of the negative yields posted by the funds since May.

Provident fund redemptions for September amounted to a record high of NIS4b. The provident funds transferred some of the money to savers yesterday, while the remainder will be transferred today. Several weeks ago the commer-

who had placed sell orders for September to reconsider. As for the mutual funds, Meitav

cial banks appealed to customers

said that 140 of the 308 funds

last month achieved a real positive yield of more than 0.6%, the forecasted rise in the Consumer Price Index, Meitav's mutual fund index rose 0.7%. The increase was mainly due to the recovery of the share and bond markets during the last few days of the month.

Knesset's approval, pertains mainly

to next year's budget, from which it seeks to slash NIS4.9b. From this

budget year the plan sheds only

NIS350 million, which the Bank of

Israel says is roughly a third of the

amount necessary to stem the fiscal

depletion which has been raging so

The bulk of the deficit for August

stemmed from smaller-than-expect-

ed revenues, which in turn reflect

excessive preliminary estimates on

far this year.

The best performing were the share funds, while the worst was Ram 90, which reported a yield of 7.4%. Other poor performers were Maritime Gmisha, with a negative return of 6.9%, and Adif Pekan with a negative yield of 6.8%.

This year only 27 of the 302 funds which invested in the capital market achieved real yields, Meitav said the funds suffered from the drop in the share market during the reported period and the fact that most of the investment channels did not keep up with the rise in the Consumer Price Index.

## Bidders shun Leumi request to up Africa Israel ante

CONTENDERS for the purchase of Bank Leumi's shares in Africa Israel have not yet raised their bids, despite the bank's request to raise their price offers, a source close to the negotiations said yes-

Bank Leumi asked the four contenders to improve their bids last week, but so far they have had no

The bids, which were tendered several weeks ago, were lower than the bank expected to get for its holding. They were also lower than that of the Generali company. which has offered to purchase 40 percent of Africa Israel's subsidiary company, Leumi Insurance Holdings (Migdal), at a value of NIS3 billion.

According to reports, the bank was expecting bids of over NIS900m. for 25% of Africa Israel's shares. It is reported that the bighest bid of the WertheimerGALIT LIPKIS BECK

Zisser group, which recently decided to withdraw from the tender, was no more than NIS750m. The remaining contenders include a consortium made up of

businessman Bernard Schreier and the Mousayeff family, the Sheldon Adelson group, the Yitzhak Tshuva consortium and Lev Leviv. If the bids are not raised, Bank Lenmi is expected to sell Migdal

to Generali and at a later stage hold another tender for the sale of Africa Israel without Migdal. At the end of last week Bank Leumi managed to increase its holding in Africa Israel to 65%, as part of its power struggle for Africa Israel. In order to sell Migdal to Generali, it is first necessary to spin off the insurance

firm from Africa Israel. This is a

measure which must be approved by Africa Israel's general sbare-

holders, who have a meeting scheduled for September 19. Bank Leumi must receive at

least 75% of the vote to go ahead with the spin-off, Capital market analysts said it is likely that Leumi will be able to achieve a majority Migdal vote, assuming not all shareholders will be present at the meeting.

They expressed doubts that the Wertheimer-Zisser consortium will be able to block the bank, despite their recent purchase of 13% of Africa Israel's shares. The shares were purchased during the last two weeks in an attempt to prevent the proposed spin-off.

In the meantime, Bank Leumi bas rejected the Wertheimer-Zisser consortium proposal to purchase their 13% holding in Africa Israel. Sources close to the bank said the proposal, which was made toward, the end of last week was "not seri-

## Dankner: Hapoalim Inv. deal with Doyrat-Shrem possible

**GALIT LIPKIS BECK** 

THE Dankner Group has not ruled out the possibility of selling its stake in Hapoalim Investments to the Dovrat-Shrem group, Dankner Group chairman Shmuel Danker implied yesterday in response to reports that the group he heads plans to maintain its stake in the Hapoalim Investment, despite its failure Thursday to win an additional 23% of its shares.

The Dankner Group purchased that stake several weeks ago for about NIS70 million in an attempt to increase its chances of purchasing that portion of Bank Hapoalim's "surplus," non-financial holdings.

However, the Dovrat-Shrem investor group emerged as the surprise winner in the Hapoalim Investment tender, after it offered a bid which was reportedly some

\$25m. higher than Dankner's. Dankner said he would rather not discuss with the media what his group intends to do next with its Hapoalim Investments stake and denied having contributed to press reports which said the group would not sell its stake to Dovrat-Shrem.

Dovrat-Shrem's bid of NIS197.8m. assumed a total company value for Hapoalim Investments of some \$277m., which is nearly twice as high as Hapoalim Investment's market value on the Tel Aviv Stock

#### THE Israel Electric Corporation's was NIS1.5b., most of which came COMPANY RESULTS

net profits in the first half of the from NIS165.2m, in the first half last year, the company reported.

The company said this sharp rise was mainly due to the relative strength of the shekel in the first quarter of 1996.

Total sales in the first half stood at 13.7 megawatts per hour, a 7.4% increase. The gross average price of electricity to consumers was 24.4 agorot per megawatt bour, a real decrease of 3.65%.

IEC profits were down NIS36.6m. to NIS56.5m. in the second quarter from the same period

Electricity bills were 5.49 percent lower in real terms, in relation to April to June last year, according to IEC. This led to a reduction in income of some NIS90m. Sales

totalled 6.6 billion kilowatts per hour, a 5.26% increase on the same period last year.

Fuel expenditure stood at NISS43m., down NIS31m. The company said this was mainly because of increased dependency on coal.

The real-term reduction in consumers' electricity bills, and the appreciable growth in infrastructure investments for developing the electricity market, necessitate continuing the process of streamlining IEC, and the raising of external capital," said IEC chairman Gad Yaacobi. "I hope the government authorities and all the agencies will understand this and lend a hand."

(NISS51m.), and computerization (NIS60m.). The majority of this money was borrowed from both Israeli and a consortium of foreign BEZEQ has reported a 10.4%

increase in first-half net profit to NIS302m from the same period last year. Revenues grew 4.78% to NIS3.89b. Bezeg chairman Gurion Meltzer and director-general Yitzhak Kaul

said a significant share of the growth was due to the expanded use of cellular phones, as well as increased sales of peripheral equipment and of overseas dialling.

The company continued to invest in infrastructure - NIS1.635b. during the first six months, a 43% increase over the first six months

## Bar seizes **Tempo**

Jerusalem Post Staff

THE battle for control of Tempo Beer Industries ended Thursday, after chairman Jack Bar bought an additional 4.5 percent of the firm's shares for \$14 million.

The Bar group - which consists of Tempo founder Moshe Bornstein's heirs - thus increased its share in the company to 51%. The shares were purchased at prices 25%-57% higher than those

on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The latest chapter in the battle for the control of Tempo started Wednesday after Neviot controlling shareholder Ron Podhorzer took advantage of Tempo's relatively low share price to acquire

20% of its shares for NIS40m. Podhorzer's purchase pushed up :: Tempo's share price, forcing Bornstein's heirs to buy additional shares at a price double that paid

Rates\*

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BEZEQ. The Israel Telecommunications Corp. Ltd.



Bezeq invites bids for the supply of the following goods: Tender No. 65/96/036/0

Black/White Laser Printers, Framework Agreement Option for additional annual purchase of up to 100 per cent of the amount specified in the tender documents.

The following general conditions apply:

Pre-conditions:

a. Parties submitting bids must comply with all laws, including the requirement to keep account books, be an authorized trader, hold valid licenses to trade, and comply with all relevant standard specifications.

b. Willingness to provide a guarantee, as explained in the tender documents.

c. Compliance with the "minimum" conditions, given in the tender documents.

(One of the minimum conditions is the connection of a coaxial cable directly to control 3270 and translation CAPSL/PCL).

The tender documents can be existenced from the Tenders and Outsides. The tender documents can be obtained from the Tenders and Ordering Department of the Purchasing Division, 1S Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem (Room 609) Tel. 02-5395614/5, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, Sunday to Thursday. The tender documents will be provided on submitting a receipt of

payment for NIS 1,000.
\* In Israel, payment should be made into Bezeq's Postal Bank account no. 5-311757. \* Overseas suppliers should make payment into Bezeq's account no. 12-901-97633/64, at the Jerusalem main branch of Bank Leumi

The fee for the tender documents is non-refundable. The receipt, with details of your company and authorized trader's number, may be taxed to 972-2-378113. Please phone afterwards (phone numbers as above), to obtain confirmation of receipt of the fax. Bids should be placed in the tenders box at 15 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem, not later than October 15, 1996, at 6 p.m.

No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid, or to order the entire Bids sent by fax or telegram will not be considered.

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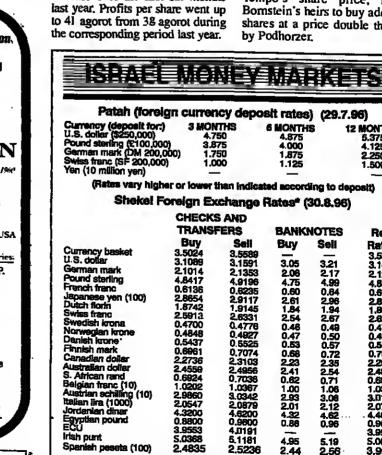
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Irish punt

**Israel Pecan** Plantations Ltd.

cording to bank. SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

The Shareholders Annual General Meeting will be held on Tuesday, September 17, 1996, at 4 p.m., in the Moshav Timorim offices.

> (Signed) Y. Asherovitz Managing Director Board of Directors

white agn. an enormous flight of black- num coal cars gleaming in the last of one name ....

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### Key Representative Rates US dollar ... NIS 3.1420 --.-% Sterling ..... NIS 4.8930 ---% Matk ...... NIS 2.1230 ---%

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## Copper hits 11-week high COMMODITIES

CHICAGO (Reuter) - Copper prices jumped to their highest level in 11 weeks Friday, boosted hy a mine wnrkers' strike in Chile and a strike-related smelter nutage

ROUNDUP

Crude nil prices edged higher but cotton, gnld and wheat prices fell, and the Commodity Research Bureau Index of 17 commodities lost 0.20 points to 249.46.

Dealers said copper's rise was fueled by aggressive huying by traders squaring their books ahead nf the long bullday weekend and growing cnncern about the supply disruptions.

Wnrkers at the Salvador copper mine in Chile went nn strike Friday, demanding wage increases and other benefits. Chile is the world's largest copper producer.

In Namihia, Gnld Fields Namibia Ltd. said the enpper smelter at its subsidiary Tsumeh Cnrp. chuld be clused for six weeks nr longer through damage caused by striking wnrkers.

"The market is gning tn remain very tight through the middle nf September at the very least," said Dean Witter's Mike Frawley, adding there had alsn been strong demand in the Far

Copper for December delivery rose 4.55 cents to 95.25 cents a pound at New York's Commodity Exchange after hitting 95.78 cents during the session. That was the highest since the December contract touched 98.80 cents on June

Cotton closed lower as speculators opted to sell ahead of the long weekend as the threat that hurricanes could hit key growing areas

The weather forecasters were saying that burricanes were not going to affect the cotton growing areas, so the speculators jumped out before the long weekend and took profits from the last six days," one trader said.

## **US** envoy unlikely to change EU minds on Cuba

BRUSSELS (Reuter) - A special US envoy given the task of selling Washington's anti-Cuha legislation to the rest of the world faces stiff resistance when he meets EU officials in Brussels this week.

European Union officials said Smart Eizenstat was unlikely to win any support from a 15-nation bloc already pondering countermeasures.

Eizenstat, appointed by US President Bill Clinton last month, is due to meet EU Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan tomorrow nn the first leg of a round-the-world swing aimed at explaining Washington's controversial Helms-Burton Act.

He will also meet European Commissioners Manuel Marin and Emma Boninn - responsible for Latin American affairs and the EU's humanitarian affairs office respectively - suggesting the bloc's executive is treating his visit seriously.

"We are looking forward to the meeting, in hear what he has to say, hut I don't see how anything can change," said one European Union official.

The Helms-Burton Act, an amalgamarion of decades of anti-Cuba legislation, was passed in July to a chorus of indignant opposition from many of Washington's strongest allies on the grounds that it is extraterritorial - that is, it imposes US laws on a second country.

Among other things, the act allows American citizens to sue in US courts foreign companies that have benefitted from investments made in property confiscated by Havana since the Cuban revolu-

tinn of 1959. Although the practical implications of this part have been suspended until next year, the EU - along with Canada and Mexico - are concerned that liability is accruing.

Much European Commission business comes to a standstill during the August holidays. Officials have nevertheless been working to finalize a response to the act by Wednesday, the next full Commission meeting.

## \$10.5b. earthquake authority clears California Senate

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (Reuter) -California's Senate over the weekend approved landmark legislation to create a \$10.5 billion agency to sell earthquake insurance tn homeowners, sending it to the gnvernnr for his signature.

After months of lobbying in the state legislature, the two final and mnst important California Earthquake Authority (CEA) bills passed in the Senate by vntes of 28-to-5 and 28-to-6. The state Assembly had already approved

A spokesman for Gov. Pele insurance companies and it hrings Wilson said the Republican gover-

FRANKFURT (Reuter)

Volkswagen AG and the German

state of Saxnny moved closer to a

showdown with the European

Union nver planned industrial

subsidies over the weekend, as

the EU's enmpetitinn enmmis-

sioner warned legal action was

subsidies that the state of Saxony

has granted Volkswagen to build two plants - a grant which exceeds

DM540 millinn worth of subsidies

Karl Van Miert, the EU's com-

petitinn czar, told the daily Hannoverscher Allgemeine

Zeitung he would take the German

pair before the European Court of

Justice if they did not agree to the

And European Union President

Jacques Santer said the pair must

However, he hinted that a com-

promise was possible to avert a

legal battle between the EU and

Volkswagen and Saxony claim

the extra aid is allowed under

Treaty of Rnme rules on German

unification, but the EU claims the

grant will till the playing field of

European car makers in

Although both side are sticking

to their guns, the EU nfficials said

they hoped to avert a costly legal

"We want an amicable agree-

ment," Santer told the magazine Saxony

Europe's largest economy.

EU's decision by Wednesday.

"return to legality."

Vnlkswagen's favor.

that the EU approved in June.

At issue are DM91 million of

imminent.

over subsidies

branch.

Saxony.'

done.

Multi-sided trading

nor would sign the hills. The authority will be a privately

المكذا من ألاصل

financed, publicly managed state agency that will provide insurance enverage for earthquake damage to residential property nwners, mobile homeowners and renters in

"More than anything, we have hrought stability to the hnmeowners market," said state Senator Charles Calderon, a Democrat and a key backer nf the CEA legislation.

"It brings certainty for the

Der Spiegel. "A confrontation is

The EU's competition commis-

"We can dn withnut a temporary

sioner also offered an otive

order if Saxnny's breach of the

law is neutralized," Van Miert said

in the interview, suggesting that

But Volkswagen, which has

threatened to take its investment

elsewhere, has refused in back

Chairman Ferdinand Piech said,

"We believe that the decision by

the premier of Saxony to grant

suhsidies in Volkswagen is a deci-

sion for the people and for jobs in

Van Miert said talks between the

federal German gnvernment and

the EU to hreak the impass are

continuing, adding it was a good

sign that the federal government

has not filed a counter complaint

against the EU as Saxony has

German Economics Minister

Guenter Rexrodt has, hnwever,

indicated he stands behind VW

and Saxony, saying the car maker deserves the full allotment of sub-

Saxnny and the European

Commission locked horns in June

when the Commission approved

only DM540m. of a proposed DM780m. in subsidies for VW to

build twn plants in the formerly

communist east German state of

TELEMAN STOCKS

funds provided so far be frozen.

nnt in the interest of either party."

proposed as part of a plan to belp snlve the state's homeowners insurance crisis.

insurers to nffer earthquake coverage with every homeowners policy, many insurance companies stopped selling new homeowners policiea and same considered dropping their existing customers to reduce their exposure to earthquake losses in California.

"Nnw that the CEA has passed its toughest test, I strongly urge insurers to begin selling home-nwners insurance without delay,"

Chuck Ouackenbush said.

The \$10.5b. CEA will be funded with premiums paid by those who Because state law requires purchase earthquake coverage, cash from participating insurance companies, reinsurance, as well as

capital market investors. The legislation requires the participation of insurance firms representing at least 70 percent of the homeowners insurance market.

Much of the groundwork has already been done, and barring unforeseen complications, I am confident that the CEA will be up and running by December 1."

## VW, EU in showdown Rafsanjani visits Africa to counter sanctions

TEHRAN (Reuter) - Iranian Akbar Hashemi President Rafsanjani begins a tour of six African states today to boost economic ties in the face of a US campaign to isolate the Islamic

Rafsanjani will visit Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Sudan over a period of up to 12 days, a spokesman at the president's office said.

The tour comes less than a month after US President Bill Clinton tightened sanctions against Iran by signing a law which penalizes nnn-US firms that invest \$40 million or more a year in the oil and gas sectors of

Iran or Libya. Tehran intensified its diplnmatic activity to woo developing countriea by stressing solidarity against the West and nffering econnmic cooperatinn deals after Washington, which accuses Iran nf sponsoring terrorism, imposed

trade sanctions in June 1995. Iran rejects the US charges and says Washington wants to topple its Islamic government for opposing US.-hegemony.

Africa has figured prominently

in Iran's diplomatic drive, with frequent contacts and visits to about 10 African states by senior Iranian delegations in the past

"Africa has strategic importance for Iran," Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Hossein Sheikholeslam said during a recent visit to South Africa.

Uganda. "African states have backed Iran on many international issues because they can understand us better than others," said Sheikholeslam, who also visited Kenya and Sudan.

Tehran has doubled the number nf its embassies in Africa tn about 23 since its 1979 Islamic revolution and Iranian state radio has launched daily broadcasts in

Hausa and Swahili. Rafsaniani will start his tour in Kenya. He will also visit South Africa, which huys up to 65 percent nf its oil imports, or about 250,000 harrels per day, from Iran.

Tehran signed a deal with Pretoria last year to store 20 million barrels of its oil in a facility on Snuth Africa's west coast. The project, which has drawn US nhjections, has been delayed hy an environmental impact study but South African officials say they bave no political problems with the accurd.

Iran's Oil Minister Gholamreza Aghazadeb last year offered to undercut Western companies on nil projects in African states. Iran had cooperation ties with South Africa, Kenya, Morocco, Sudan, Tanzania, Libya, Madagascar and Senegal, he said.

Iran is also eyeing African conntries for its non-oil exports.

It has signed trade deals with several of them and exhibited Iranian products in Kenya and

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Two-sided trading

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## Central bank support for bonds, shekel boosts shares

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

FELICE MARANZ



STOCKS rose for a fourth straight session yesterday, boosted hy confidence that the Bank nf Israel would support the bond marker

The central bank successfully implemented its "safety net" for bond prices throughout August, said Eli Nahum, head of the sales at Tel Aviv investment firm Zannex Securities Ltd.

and the shekel.

The safety net soothed investors in both the bond market and in Israel's provident funds, partially tax-exempt savings plans which buy bonds and shares, he said. The general bond index rose 0.37 per-

We see consistent demand now in the bond market," Nahum said. "Provident funds now have enough liquidity and selling pressure has eased. Nahum added that investor con-

fidence was bolstered by the central bank's pledge to maintain the diagnnal band within which it allows the shekel to trade against other currencies. "The market was convinced that the Bank of Israel will stick to the hand and not let the shekel go below it," he said.

The Maof Index rose 0.49 percent to 193.25 and the Two-Sided Index went np 0.84% to 182.71. Of 989 shares trading across the exchange, more than three times as many shares rose as fell.

Some NIS55.7 millinn worth nf shares changed hands, NIS19.5m. below last Thursday's level and about 10% below last month's average daily trading level.

Leading gaining stocks, Maof
Index-listed Elbit Ltd. rose 6.75%.

Africa-Israel Ltd.'s shares on the index closed unchanged after risgout.

tronic systems for aerospace and defense industries, said it was in talks to sell a stake in its subsidiary Inframetrics Inc. for \$30 million to Boston-based Advent

International Corp.
Inframetrics' technology uses video cameras for industrial and laboratory monitoring. The company also produces night-vision systems for border and military surveillance and the prevention of drug and arms smuggling. Electronics company Elron Electronic Industries Ltd., which

owns 40% nf Elbit, rose 4%. Other gaining Maof Index-listed shares included Bezeq Ltd., which increased 1.5%. After the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange closed on Thursday, Israel's state-nwned telephone company said secondquarter net incnme rose a betterthan-expected 26% as profits from mobile phone services rose.

Bezeq also said it will pay as much as 27% less for equipment under a renewed supply agreement with Koor Industry Ltd.'s Telrad

subsidiary. Koor's shares, listed on the Maof Index as well, fell 2%.

A different Koor subsidiary, Tadiran Ltd., rose 4.5%. Tadiran's American Depositary Receipts jumped to 25 1/2 nn Friday from 24 1/2 on Wednesday, the last day of trading in New York to influence Tel Aviv.

Last week as analyst at Merrill Lyncb & Co. raised her estimate for the telecommunications equipment company's 1996 earnings.

Elbit, which manufactures electing for five days. (Bloomberg)

## **Dole: Continue ban** on Iraqi oil sales

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - Republican presidential candidate Bnb Dole called over the weekend for the ban nn Iraqi nil sales to continue given the movement of Iraqi forces into northern Iraq and disregard by Iraq for UN-approved inspections of its nuclear facilities.

These developments, he said, "reinforce my belief that the move to relax sanctions on the sale of Iraqi nil was premature and ill-advised and should not be implemented," he said.

In a statement issued by his campaign, Dole said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was using the fighting among Kurdish factions only as a pretext for intervention in northern Iraq. White House spokesman Mike McCurry rejected Dole's criticism,

telling reporters, "We would strongly dispute the notion that the action was ill-advised. These were tightly structured sales for humanitarian UN Security Council resolution 986, yet to be implemented, would

allnw Iraq to sell \$2 hillion of nil over six months to buy food and medicine for its population.

## Eurocopter seeks solution to slowdown in orders

belicopter maker Eurocnpter is engaged in sensitive talks with the French government aimed at ensuring its passage through a slowdown in orders which could entail job losses, officials said over the weekend. Jean-Francois Bigay, chairman

HOOK (Renter) - Franco-German

of Eurocopter told reporters ahead of the hiennial Faraborough airshow, that the world belicopter market would remain difficult in the medium term because of tough competition and stagnant sales. The company, a joint venture

between French state-owned SNI Aerospatiale and Daimler-Benz Aerospace of Germany, has sufficient orders for 1997 and 1998 but then faces a lean period until it delivers the first Tiger combat helicopter to the French army in 2002. France's center-right French

government has slashed spending in the defense budget for 1997-2002 and has earmarked funds for only four super Puma transport The defense cuts have raised

labor union concern that 1,000 Eurocopter jobs could gn in France on top of the 800 French posts and 350 German posts to be axed in a current restructuring plan which runs until 1997.

The French government is highly sensitive to any job losses as the latest figures show the unemployment rate at a record 12.5 percent and unions are opposing a budget freeze for 1997, which will lead to up to 7000 layoffs in the civil ser-

France is scheduled to have a general election in 1998.

Aerospauale chairman Yves Michnt said Eurocopter was in talks with the government to see wbether more measures will be needed after 1997. He said the government had

asked him in the first half of this year wbether more had to be done because orders were not being placed. Since then, however, Eurocopter

received about FR5 billion in new orders, selling aircraft tn Ahn Dhabi, Saud Arabia and Spain. The orders are now coming in. It is clear we have to implement the whole of the restructuring plan as it was conceived.

"Beyond that we will have to discuss to see what the situation is and whether or nnt to take further measures," Michot said.

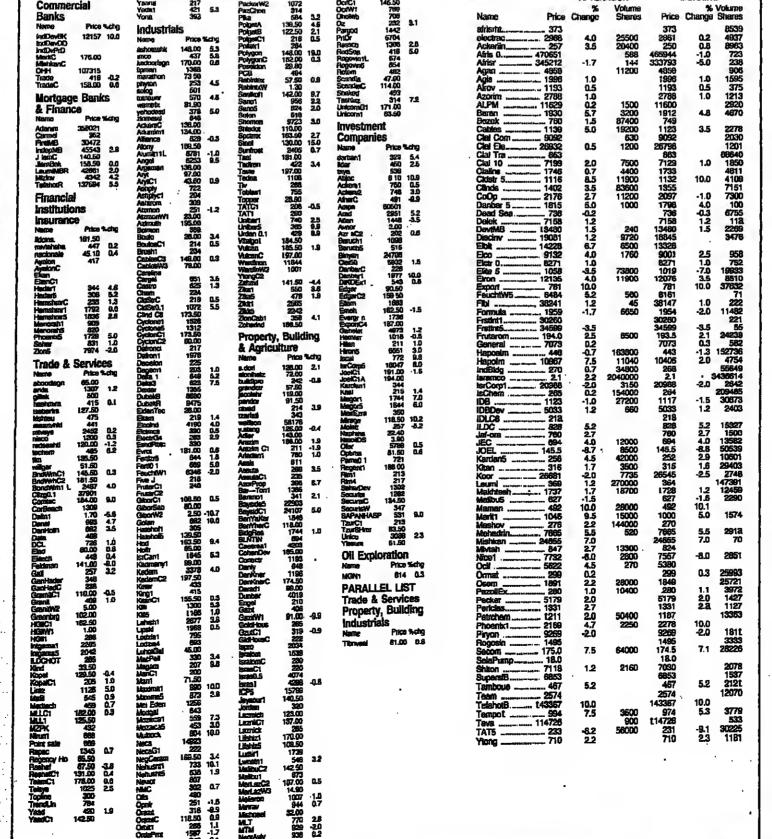
Bigay, however, said it looked like no fresh job cuts would be needed on top of those in the current restructuring plan.

"We think for the moment our order book for 1997 and 1998 gives us a clear view that there will be no significant change in the very short term, which is not to say there won't be a problem until 2002," he said.

Bigay said the government expects to make a small loss in 1996 and break even in 1997 as a result of the restructuring plan. He gave no figures for profits.

He forecast Eurocopter's turnover for 1996 would be FR9.8 billion and FR9.56b. in 1997, compared to FR9.32b. in 1995.

The company expects the payroll to shrink to 8,900 in 1997 from an estimated 9,500 this year and 9,800 in 1995



# Israel posts shocking 2-1 win over Bulgaria

**DEREK FATTAL** 

ISRAEL'S national soccer team put on one of its best-ever displays last night, transforming agony into ecstasy at the National Stadium in Ramat Gan in the opening Group 5
World Cup qualifier against
Bulgaria to emerge 2-1 victors, after falling a goal behind within 120 seconds.

The victory endorses the tactical judgment of coach Shlomo Scharf who risked all by playing an attacking line-up despite the absence of his team's key defender. Gadi Brumer, and relied on the untried partnership of Amir Shelah and and Arik Bennado in central defense against the powerful Bulgarians, who finished fourth at USA '94. After the pulsating match, Scharf

related how he had fooled his Bulgarian counterpart Hristo Benov by playing two outright attackers, instead of the single spearhead in the makeshift side that had lost in last month's disastrous preparatory game against Romania. The Bulgarians came here expecting an easy game, and paid the price," said Scharf.

Although the Israelis had the benefit of three close calls by the match officials, the result was justified as the Israelis forced themselves back into the game through a mixture of fiery passion and pure football. The result is a significant dent for the Bulgarians, who clearly rated Russia as their main obstacle to finishing first in European qualifying Group 5 from which only the winner automatically proceeds to the finals in France in two years' time. The Bulgarians could live to regret the absence of their star player, Hristo Stoichkov, who snubbed the Bulgarian football association and Bonev by playing of the area, after a pass from defense. The Israelis came closest



FIGHTING FOR GROUND - Bulgarian player Krassimir Balakov tries to get by Tal Banin during yesterday's World Cup qualifier.

in Barcelona colors on the same night as his compatriots fell to

For the Israelis, this victory against one of the continent's top international outfits will forge a renewed spirit of confidence in the long campaign ahead, after the recent blows suffered by local club sides in European competition.

For the somewhat disappointing crowd of around 25,000 the match was an emotional rollercoaster. After just two minutes' play, the spectators on the terraces were shaking their heads in disbelief after goalkeeper Rafi Cohen committed an irrational act, flung himself at Emil Kostadinov on the edge

Krassimir Balakov beat a poorlyexecuted offside trap. Balakov slammed the ball from the spot mark into the top left-hand side of the net and sent Cohen the wrong way. Despite his personal agony, at least Cohen could draw some comfort from not being shown a red card by Italian referee Alfredo Terntalange.

The next 25 minutes brought a period of sustained dominence by the Israelis as the Bulgarians sat on their lead. Intelligent passing and movement off the ball enabled the blue-shirted hosts to create several scoring chances, with Haim Revivo in particular displaying potent skill as he took on the Bulgarian

in the 25th minute when a high cross over the area from Felix Halfon on the right landed in front of Revivo. The Celta Vigo player fired his shot true from six meters out but somehow Borislav Mihailov in the Bulgarian goal managed to wrestle the ball clear with his legs. A minute later, defender Radostin Kischischev managed to block a shot by Ronny Rosenthal from a similar position, and the referee ignored Israeli appeals for a penalty. The Bulgarians then finally swept forward but Cohen was equal to attempts by Kostadinov and then Iordan Letchkov. The first magic

moment for the bome fans came in

the 35th minute, when Tal Banin,

captaining the side in the absence of Nir Klinger from the starting line-up, guided the ball over the Bulgarian backline to find Ronnen Harazi completely free. The Betar Jerusalem forward demonstrated why he is the country's most complete striker, meeting the ball with a shot that left the exposed Mihailov helplessly grappling daylight and put the Israelis on equal terms.

Both sides registered further attempts on goal before the end of the half, with Kostadinov, then Güeorgui Donkov, the most dangerous.

The Israelis opened the second period with all pistons firing, as Rosenthal made a breathtaking surge down left wing, sending the Bulgarian defense into a panic. The move ended with a measured cross to Revivo, whose shot bobbed onto ground allowing Mihailov to finger the shot clear.

Sensing the danger, the visitors took to the offense and pressed towards Cohen's area.

By the hour mark, Scharf's men were back on top, with Alon Hazan and Avi Nimini finally beginning to win the battle in midfield.

In the 62nd minute Banin cheekily lobbed the ball over a tackling defender to find Halfon in the box. Halfon, battled two players before being crashed to the goal by center half Petar Hubchev, with referee Trenetalange in close enough attendance to have no hesitation in pointing to the spot. Banin took the ball and duplicated Balakov's earlier act firing in to the same side of goal for Israel's winner.

The atmosphere was electric as the Bulgarians sought to retrieve the game, but to no avail. The Israelis tore forward twice on the break and only luck saved the Bulgarians, as Trifon Ivanov cleared off the line from Rosenthal,

and then a quicksilver turn and shot by Revivo required a world class save from Mihailov. To stem the tide, Scharf brought on Klinger for Harazi, then Eyal Berkowitz in place of Rosenthal as the Israelis began to toy with the Bulgarians.

The joy on the terraces almost turned sour when Kostadinov finally found the net seven minutes from the end with a cooly flicked header, but the goal was adjudged offside by the linesman and referee. With the crowd baying wildly for

the final whistle, Cohen almost repeated his earlier error with a sliding attempt to dispossess a Bulgarian attacker, but the somewhat desperate penalty appeals were declined.

The final whistle blew three minutes into injury time and the crowd at last relieved from its tension broke into cheers.

The squad continues its fight for a place at the World Cup finals on October 9 at Ramai Gan against

Denmark beat Slovenia 2-0 in a Group 1 qualifier. Scorars: Allan Nietsen (78th min), Soeren Andersen (89th).

Greece beat Bosnia 3-0 (1-0) in a Group 1 qualifier. Scorers: Greece - Marinos Ouzounidie (42nd minute), Stratos Apostolakis (77th), Demis Nikolaidis

England beat Moldova 3-0 (2-0) in a Group 2 qualifier. Scorers: Nick Barmby (2-4th minute). Paul Gascoigne (25th), Alan

Hungary best Finland 1-0 (1-0) in a Group 3 qualifier. Scorer: Ferenc Orosz (16th minute).

Sweden beat Latvia 2-1 (2-0) in a Group 4 qualifier. Scorers: Latvia – Vits Filmkus (56th minute). Sweden – Martin Dahlin (16th), Kennet Andersson (21st).

## 3,000 meter record smashed

RIETI, Italy (Reuter) - Daniel Komen, who has twice been within a fraction of a second of Noureddine Morceli's world 3,000 meter record, shattered the mark by nearly five seconds yesterday.

The 20-year-old Kenyan clocked seven minutes 20.67 seconds for the non-championship. event at an international meeting to break the Algerian's two-yearold mark of 7:25.11.

Kenyan David Kisang took the field through 1.000 meters in 2:25.89 before Komen took the lead, clocking 4:53.18 at the 2,000 mark and carrying on to finish more than 20 seconds ahead of his nearest rival.

Kenyas's Shem Kororia, was second in 7:43.17.

#### **SCOREBOARD**

CRICKET - Results of English Sunday League matches:
At Tunbridge Wells: Nottinghamshire beat Kent by 7 wickets. Kent 99 (C.Cairus 4-26), Nottinghamshire 183.

At Hendingley: Yorkshire beat Essex

At Headingley: Yorkshire beat Essex by 6 wickets. Essex 108 (C. White 4-21), Yorkshire 109-4.
At Portsmonth: Middlesex beat Hampshire by 7 wickets. Hampshire 184-9 innings closed (S. Udal 54), Middlesex 185-3 (M. Gatting 55 not out. M. Ramprakush 54 not out).
At Chester-le-Street: Glamorgan beat Durham due to a higher run rate. Durham due to a higher run rate. Durham 173-7 innings closed,

Glamorgan 112-2.
At Chesterfield: Derbyshire beat.
Worcestershire by 6 wickets.
Worcestershire 158, Derbyshire 159-4 (K.Barnett 51).

At Leicester: Somerset beat Leicestershire by 7 wickets. Leicestersbire 194-8 innings closed (D.Maddy 57), Somerset 195-3 (P.Bowler 76, M.Lathwell 63). Al Bristol: Northamptonshire beat Gloucestershire by 5 wickets. Gloucestershire 175-9 innings closed,

Northamptonshire 179-5. At The Oval (London): Surrey beat Warwickshire by two wickets: Warwickshire 185 (D.Brown 66), Surrey 186-8 off 36.4 overs. At Hove: Lancashire beat Sussex by 4 wickets. Sussex 204-8 innings closed, Lancashire 207-6 (N.Fairbrother 93).

ENGLISH SOCCER: QPR 1, Bolton 2

EARLY NFL RESULTS YESTERDAY: Indianapolis 20, Arizona 13 Carolina 20, Atlanta 6 St. Louis 26, Cinncinnati 16 Minnesota 17, Detroit 13 Kansas City 20, Honston 19 Baltimore 19, Oakland 14 Phitadelphia 17, Washington 14 Jacksonville 24, Pittsburgh 9

EARLY AL RESULTS YESTERDAY Chicago A. Toronto 2 Kansas City 3, Detroit 2

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SATURDAY'S AL RESULTS: Kansas City 3, Detroit 1 Chicago 5, Toronto 1 Baltimore 7, Seattle 6 Milwaokee 3, Minnesota 2 Texas 6, Cleveland 3. Oakland S. Boston O. New York 14. California 3

EARLY NL RESULTS YESTERDAY: Florida 6. Cincinnati 1 Pittsburgh 9, Houston Montreal 7, San Diego 5

SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS: Chicago 12, Atlanta 0 Houston 5, Pittsburgh 4 New York 7, San Francisco 2 Los Angeles 11, Philadelphia 7-Montreal 4, San Diego 2 Cincinnati 22, Florida 8 St. Louis 2, Colorado I

## Edberg rolls along, Seles struggles but survives

NEW YORK (AP) - Stefan Edberg's trip through his the third round. final US Open continued yesterday when he defeated Paul Haarhuis 6-4, 7-6 (7-4), 6-1 and clinched a spot in the fourth round.

Playing his last Grand Slam tournament before retiring. Edberg played his strongest match of the hardcourt tourney.

"Anything can happen now," said the victorious Swede, making his best showing at the National Tennis Center since he successfully defended his US Open title in 1992. Intohe, women's draw, fourth-seeded Conchita

Martinez became the first player to reach the quarterfinal round when she defeated Sweden's Asa Carlsson 6-2, 6-1. Monica Seles, a finalist last year in her first US Open since she won in 1991 and 1992 prior to her

stabbing, struggled a little to reach the quarter-finals with a 7-5, 6-0 victory over Sandrine Testud. In the only other men's third-round match in early play yesterday, Guy Forget of defeated Dutchman Sjeng Schalken 6-2, 7-5, 4-6, 4-6, 6-0.

Edberg, at age 30, has announced he will retire after this year. Besides his two US Open titles, he has won Wimbledon twice and the Australian Open twice. "I felt he was on top of his game," Haarhuis said of

This time, the Dutchman was unable to pull off an upset on the National Tennis Center hardcourts. It was here in 1989 that Haarhuis knocked off fourthseeded John McEnroe in a second-round match, Two years later, he defeated top-seeded Boris Becker in

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Testud broke the No. 2 Seles early and served for the first set at 5-4, only to be thwarted the way so many players have been at crucial points in matches against Seles over the years.

Two points from winning the set at 30-30, Testud slapped a forehand into the net, then watched helplessly as Seles drove a forehand crosscourt past her. Seles held serve after two deuces, then broke Testud again, this time at love. Cruising now, Seles completed a run of nine straight games to close out the match.

Martinez is seeking her first title on the hardcourts of the National Tennis Center and the second Grand Slam championship of her career. She won Wimbledon two years ago. In her last match, Carlsson had ousted 15th-seeded Gabriela Sabatini to post her biggest career victory.

That didn't help her much against Martinez, who has never lost to the Swede in four career meetings. It took the Spaniard 34 minutes to capture the opening set with her powerful forehand and slice backhand. She had trouble getting her first serve in, hitting only 58 percent, but was able to control the points

from the baseline. In Saturday's late play, second-seeded Michael Chang, battling a balky serve, leg cramps and the beat, survived an upset bid by unheralded Vince Spadea. The 6-4, 5-7, 2-6, 7-5, 6-3 victory in the all-American clash put Chang into the fourth round.

In other late third-round action Saturday, Arnaud Boetsch of France ousted American Jeff Tarango 6-4, 6-2, 7-6 (8-6).

## Pakistan takes final game of three-match series

NOTTINGHAM (Reuter) -Wicketkeeper Rashid Latif kept his head while wickets tumbled to steer Pakistan to a two-wicket victory over England in the third and final one-day international at Trent Bridge yesterday.

England still won the series 2-1. Rashid calmly square cut Adam Hollioake for four from the second ball of the final over then chipped the Sorrey all-rounder into vacant territory for the winning run with two balls to spare.

He finished on 31 not out after

Hollioake had threatened to steal the match for England by taking four quick wickets as Pakistan chased England's 246 all out from their 50 overs.

"I would like to pay tribute to Rashid," said Pakistan captain Wasim Akram. "He played very

Hollioake took four for 23 from 6.5 overs for England in Saturday's 107-run win at Edgbaston and was on course to repeat his match-winning performance yesterday before Rashid took control.

'He bowled well in two pressure situations," said England captain Mike Atherton. "He dragged us back into the game today.

**ENGLAND** M.Atherton C Shahid Nazir b Wasim kram Mushtaq 15
RJrani b Shahid Nazir ...0
A.Hollioaka c Ijaz Ahmed b Saqizin
Mushtaq 13
D.Gough b Wasim Akram ...5
R.Croft b Waqar Younis ...0
P.Martin run out ...6
A.Mullally b Waqar Younis ...2
Extras (b-2 lb-8 w-9 nb-4) ...23
Total (50 overs) ...246
Fall of wickets: 1-10 2-106 3-137 4-139
5-178 6-216 7-296 8-231 9-240 Fail of Wickess: 1-10 2-108 3-7 4-139 5-178 6-216 7-226 8-231 9-240. Bowling: Wesim Akram 10-1-45-3, Wagar Younis 10-1-49-2, Shahird Nazir 10-47-2, Asif Mujtaba, 5-0-27-0, Saqlain Mushtaq 10-0-35-2, Aamir Sohall 5-0-33-

Saeed Anwar b Martin Shahid Anwar Ibw b Martin 37 ljaz Ahmed c Lloyd b Gough 59 Aamir Sohail b Croft 29 Shadab Kabir c Irani b Hotlioake 0 Asif Mujtaba b Hollioake Wasim Akram Ibw b Hollioake Pashid Latif not out

Wagar Younis not out ......0 Waqar Younis not out
Extras (b-5 w-6)
Total (for 8 wickets, 49.4 overs) ...247
Fall of wickets; 1-93 2-114 3-177 4-182
5-187 6-199 7-219 8-240.
Did Not Bat: Shahid Nazir.
Bowling: Gough 10-1-43-1, Mullally 9-0-66-0, Marlin 10-0-38-2, Croft 10-0-38-1, Irani 2-0-12-0, Hollioeke 8-4-0-45-4.
Result: Pakistan won by two wickets.
First match: England won by five wickets
Second: England by 107 runs.
England won series 2-1.

## Israeli volleyball squad remains winless

ISRAEL'S youth volleyball team lost their fourth consecutive match yesterday in the European Youth Volleyball

HEATHER CHAIT

Championships being played in Ukraine beat the host team 3-0 with scores of 15-2, 15-6, 15-8. Israel has vet to win a game in the preliminary rounds of the

tournament with one game remaining today, against Yugoslavia. In other results yesterday Poland beat Finland 3-0 and France beat Belarus 3-2 in Pool 1 with Russia downing Belgium

3-0 and Yugoslavia dismissing Holland 3-2 in Pool 2. The final preliminary round

matches will be beld today with the playoff rounds beginning on Wednesday.

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manages an unusually gentle balance between wil

and pain, predictability and innovation. Working

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nudges the tidy emotional frame just a little off cen-

ter, and in doing so he ceptures the unforeseeable upset of family life more honestly than almost any-

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knows whether to laugh or to cry. We laugh

because its surface is clever and its attitude toward

action-movie and spy-thriller conventions is so

plainly tongue-in-cheek. Afterwards, when we stop

to realize that it took \$70 million and the talents of

a director as accomplished as Brian De Palma and

a screenwriter like Robert (Chinatown) Towne to

create such a silly bit of high-tech nothingness, we

may be tempted to cry. Mission: Impossible is styl-

ish, enjoyable and painfully empty: it's hack work

at its best. With Tom Cruise, Jon Voigt and

Emmanuelle Beart, who takes a break from the

elliptically lyrical likes of Claude Chabrol and

Claude Sautet to drive Cruise's getaway car.

(English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles, Parental guid-

ance strongly advised.)

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

26 Prepare to shoot bird (4)

promoted (6)

liqueur (5)

29 Gloomy army doctor

30 Some rags may be made of fine material (B)

31 Spirit used in orange

32 Diamonds, for example

DOWN

1 Started to request article

2 Greduete's to go round Caribbean island (6)

3 Veil once ripped by force (B)

4 Unprofitably puzzled

5 A very hot day for one

look good on young girl

stop car and lean out (4,4)

son's biological mother in 'The Birdcage.'

suggested.)

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WANTED interne: Edition seepon to be interes. ork investor Therese agained Tel. 02.531.563 

The Jerusalem Post Monday, September 2, 1996

THEATER

HELEN KAYE

HOPELESS passion for the

lovely Roxanne fuels poor

Cyrano's poetic muse in

Edmond Rostand's (1868-1918)

matchless Cyrano de Bergerac (1897) based on the real-life

story of a 17th-century master

swordsman, soldier and poet. Czech whizz-kid director Teler

Lebel has given the Habimah

production the full period treat-

ment. Cyrano is pleyed by Sasson Gabai and Roxanne by

Rama Messinger. Tonight and

through Thursday on the mainstage at 8:30 pm. (Hebrew)

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN

\*\*\*\* THE BIRDCAGE - From its spangled drag-show opening to the wedding at its close

Mike Nichols's remake of the popular 1978 French

farce La Cage Aux Folles is remarkably close to the original. Scene for scene, gag for gag, The

Birdcage barely swerves from the tracks set down

by that bittersweet puff piece of a film about a cou-ple of middle-aged homosexuals whose son

announces his intention to marry the daughter of a

conservetive politician. But with the action trans-

planted knowingly from St. Tropez to Miami's

South Beach, with the characters turned American

and the off-screen realities of the last 20 years being what they are (AIDS, Pel Buchanan, the

right-wing push for "family values"), the picture

feels different at its core from La Cage - e little

more literal perhaps, but also e good deal more

dire. With Robin Williams, Gene Hackman and

Nethan Lane. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles.

\*\*\* COLD COMFORT FARM - Based on

Stella Gibbons's 1932 novel, this is a quirky little

social satire about a headstrong young woman with

clear ideas about literature and interior design.

After her parents die, aspiring London writer Flora

Poste (Kate Beckinsale) packs her bags and sets off

eagerly for the Sussex countryside where she plans

to stay with a crew of rustic relatives and gather lit-

erary material. The film blends broad caricature

with a slightly bookish pace in a manner that's

familiar from other BBC-produced adaptations of

classic comedies, but which at least comes natural-

ly to director John Schlesinger. While the movie

may be a bit blue-stockinged for certain tastes and

while it soil isn't up to the level of Schlesinger's

ACROSS

8 Frighten with second

10 Corresponding, but never going to meet? (8)

11 Sport where one is hable to

potatoes-wonderful! (8)

16 As burgiar, examine court

IB Near the cruption of the

20 Criminal expedition to

22 Frank has nothing to write

24 In London thoroughfare,

7 Get money for treat (9)

charge (5)

get the chop (6)

13 Carol cets

proceedings (4)

steal sheep? (3,4)

ground (7)

12 Continue, fool (4)

Parental guidance suggested.)

**CRITIC'S CHOICE** 

#### WHAT'S ON

TELEVISION

#### E CHANNEL 1

6:31 News in Arabic 6:45 Exercise Hour 7:00 Good Morning Israel

#### **EDUCATIONAL TV**

8:00 A Glimpse of History 8:30 On Second Thought 9:00 Without Secrets 9:20 Nature 9:45 Programs for Young Children 10:15 Sciences 10:40 English 11:10 Social Studies 11:40 Tolerance 12:10 Sciences 12:30
Tolerance 12:10 Sciences 12:30
General History 13:00 Onedin Line
14:00 Surprise Train 14:25 Kity Cat
and Tommy 14:45 Gaya, Gal and Gili
15:00 Land ol Dreams 15:15 Garcantua

#### ■ CHANNEL 1

15:30 Tom and Jerry 15:50 The Adventures of Dodo 16:00 Heartbreak High 16:45 Yaldudas 16:59 A New EvenIng 17:34 Masterminds 16:00 The Adventures of Dodo 18:16 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS 18:30 Sports Magazine 19:00 News in

Arabic Hebrew Programs 19:31 Partners - Cornedy series about two architects 20:00 Mabat News 20:45 Summer with Dan Margalit -current-allairs live interview program 22:00 The Lazarus Man 23:00 As Time Goes By 23:30 News 00:00 Verse of the Day

#### **■ CHANNEL 2**

13:00 Make a Wish 13:30 Basic Arabic 13:00 Make a Wish 13:30 Basic Arabic 14:00 Echo Point 14:30 Tick Tack 55:00 Super Duper 15:30 Make a Wish 16:00 The Bold and the Beautiful 17:00 News magazine with Rali Reshel 17:30 Action - Cinema Magazine 18:00 Santa Barbara 19:00 Magazine 18:00 Santa Barbara 19:00
Baywatch 20:00 News 20:30 Mr. Bean
— British cornedy series 21:05 Itche —
Comedy series with Sefie Rivlin 21:40
Dan Shilon Live 00:00 News 00:05
Stags, continued 00:05 Night Owls
Talk with Gideon Reicher, The program
will be broadcast simultaneously on
Army Radio 2:00 The Anarchist — BBC
Miniseries about a radical young Imis. Miniseries about e radical young university lecturer 8:00 On the Edge of the Sheff

JORDAN TV

15:05 Adventures on the Rainbow

#### WHERE TO GO

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS28.0B per line, including VAT. tnsertion every day of the month costs NIS520.65 per line, including VAT, per month.

#### **JERUSALEM**

Conducted Tours HEBREW UNIVERSITY. Tours of the Mount Scopus campus, in English, daily Sun.-Thur., 11 e.m. from Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Administration Bldg. Buses 4a, 9, 23, 26, 28. For info, call B82819.
HADASSAH. Visit the Hadassah installations, Chagall Windows. Tel. 02-416333, 02-776271.

**TEL AVIV** 

TEL AVIV MUSEUM. Susan and Anton Roland-Rosenberg Collection -24 masterpieces by modern artists. Fauvism - Wild Beasts, Josef Beuys -Drawings and Objects, Prints - new acquisitions. New Horizons: Sculpture. Face to Face. The Museum Collections. HELENA RUBINSTEIN PAVILION FOR CONTEMPORARY ART. Summer Exhibition for Children: Celebration of Colours agrees and workshop. of Colour - games and workshop. I Am You - Artists Against Violence: 20 posters. Hours: Weekdays 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Tue. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. Fri. 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Sat. 10 - 3 p.m. Meyerhoff Art Education Center, Tel. 6919155-8.

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, diel 04-8374253.

#### GENERAL **ASSISTANCE**

**EMERGENCY** 

**PHARMACIES** 

Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Shoef, 78 Ahuza,

Jerusalem: Hadassah Ein Kerem (inter-nal, surgery, orthopedics, ENT); Misgav Ladach (obstetrics); Bikur Holim (pedi-atrics); Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Medical Center Dana Pediatric Hospital (pediatrics); Tel Aviv Medical Center (internal, surgery).

Magen David Adom
In emergencies dia! 101 (Hebrew) or 911
(English) in most parts of the country. In
addition:
Ashdoor 6561332
Beersheba 6274767
Bei Shemesh 6523133
Dan Region 5793333
Elar 6332444
Haffa 6512233
Jenusalem 523133
Remon 9865444
Tiberies 792444
Mobile Intensive Care Unit (MICU) service in
the area, around the clock

Medical help for tourists (in English) 177-022-9110 The National Poison Control Center at

Amharic). Rape Crisis Center (24 hours), Tel Aviv 523-4819, 544-9191 (men), Jerusalem 625-5558, Haita 853-0533, Ellat 833-

Pond 15:30 Richie Rich 16:00 Playabout 16:10 Gillette World Sport 16:25 Hey Dad 17:00 French Programs 19:30 News Headlines 19:35 The Hypnotic World of Paul McKenna 20:00 Milner Ferwick 20:15 Matiock 21:10 Caymania - documentary 22:00 News in English 22:25 The Bold and the Beautiful 23:15 Bodies of Evidence - Police Drama

#### **MIDDLE EAST TV**

8:00 TV Shop 14:00 The 700 Club 14:30 Attack Force "Nam - A special team of soldiers returns to Vietnam to rescue American soldiers still held captive 16:05 Urban Peasants 18:30 Dennis the Menace 16:55 Mask 17:20 Dennis the Menace 16:55 Mask 17:20 Diplodo 17:45 Boulevard des Enfants 18:15 First Flight 18:40 The A-Team 19:30 World News Tonight (Arabic) 20:00 CNN Headline News 20:30 Top Cops 20:55 Diagnosis Murder 21:45 Mallock 22:35 The 700 Club 23:05 Larry King Live 00:00 TV Shop 2:00 Quantum Shopping 3:00 TV Shop

#### CABLE

#### ■ ITV 3 (33)

16:00 Cartoons 16:30 The Harem 16:00 Cartoons 16:30 The Harem 17:15 Panorame 18:00 Amores 19:00 News in Arabic 19:30 Doctors Talk 20:00 Mabat News 20:45 Dead on Arrival - Suspense timiler about a man who discovers that he has been poisoned end has only e few days to live. Relentlessly, end with his last strength, he goes in search of his killer. 22:10 Adventures end Challenges 23:05 Inside Stuff

#### ■ ETV 2 (23)

15:30 Butterly Island 18:00 Wildlie 18:30 On the Cutting Edge of Science 17:00 Swimming in the Dead Sea 17:35 Explore 16:00 Basic Arabic 16:30 Generation Link - Haya Yosef Interviews Ruh Dayan 19:00 Faces of Culture 19:30 Reflection 20:00 A New Evening (with Russian subtitles) 20:30 Cybernews 21:00 Star Treic The Next Generation 21:45 Page 22:00 Generation 21:45 Pop Songs 22:00 Female Perspective 22:30 Prisoners of Silence - Documentary on how how autistics can express themselves with the eld of computers

#### FAMILY CHANNEL (3)

8:00 Sisters (rpt) 9:00 One Life to Live (rpt) 9:45 The Young and the Restless (rpt) 10:30 Deys of Our Lives (rpt) 11:20 Perla Negrs (rpt) 12:35 Dallas (rpt) 13:30 Starting at 1:30 14:05 Sweet Justice 14:55 Sisters 15:50 Days of Our Lives 19:40 Neighbors 17:10 Dallas 18:00 One Life to Live 18:45 The Young and the Restless 19:30 Local broadcast 20:00 Perla Negra 20:50 Married with Children 21:40 Mad About You 22:05 Hope and Gloria 22:30 Murphy Brown 23:20 Second Time Around 23:45 Metrose Place 00:30 Models Inc. 1:15 Hill Street Blues 8:00 Sisters (rpt) 9:00 One Life to Live

#### ■ MOVIE CHANNEL (4)

11:30 For the Love of Nancy (1994) --11:30 For the Love of Nancy (1994) – the parents of an anorexic girl are forced to get a court order so as to hospitalize her (rpt) 13:05 That Uncertain Feeling (1941) 14:30 Seeing Stars 15:20 The Yen Family (1988, Japanese) – a family obsessed with money is upset when the youngest son shows no interest in it (rpt) 17:10 The Ryan White Story (1989) – true story of a hemophiliac boy with AIDS who fought for the right to go to school (rpt) 18:50 Lakota Moon (1991) – The life of a Native American tribe before the a Native American tribe before the coming of the white man. With Richard Tyson and Barbara Carrera (88 mins.)

Kalherine's pre-wedding jitlers are intensified when the Pope announces intensified when the Pope armounces that he will attend, after they sent him an invitation as a joke. With Petrick Demosey and Kelly Lynch (88 mins.) 22:00 When No One Would Listen (1992) — e battered wife flees home, lodges a complaint with the police, and reaches e shelter to rabused women, and there they have been fired her. but even there her husband finds her and takes his revenge on her (90 mins.) 23:35 Another Woman (1994) en amnesiac woman has to learn everything over again until her memo-ry begins to return, and with it, horrors from her past (rpt) 1:10 The Last Outlaw (1993) – the ruthless leader of a band of gunslingers takes revenge on their attempt to kill him (rpt) 2:40 K-

20:25 RSVP (1992) - Robert end

#### E CHILDREN (6)

6:30 Cartoons 9:05 Heathcliffe 9:30 VR Troopers 9:55 Little University — Life 10:25 Kirk 10:55 Saved by the Bell 11:15 Rocko's Modern Life 11:30 The Stx 12:00 Chiquititas 12:45 The Chipmunks 13:00 Surprise Garden 13:20 Mot 14:05 Detective Hush Hash 14:35 The Children of Oz 15:00 VR Troopers 15:25 Little University — Once Upon A Time ...16:00 Minor Adjustments 16:25 Saved by the Bell 16:45 Rocko's Modern Life 17:05 The New Adventures of Bleck Beauty 17:30 Chiquititas 16:15 The Forest of Wishes 16:40 Make-Believe Closet 19:00 Little Mice on tha Prairie 19:30 Three's Company 20:00 Married with Children 20:25 Roseanne 20:50 The Ren and Stimpy Show 21:05 Big Brother Jake 21:30 Whose Line Is This Anyway?

#### ■ SECOND SHOWING (6)

22:00 A Life in the Theater (1993) — 23:35 Folies des Femmes (1921) — Classic silent film about an American couple who fall prey to the counterfeiting scams of e Russian "count" in Monte Carlo. With Maude George and May Bush. Directed by Erich von Stroheim (109 mins.)

#### ■ DISCOVERY (8)

8:00 Open University 12:00 Human Nature (rpt) 13:00 Beyond 2000 (rpt) 13:30 Ultrascience (rpt) 14:00 Open 13:30 Ultrascience (rpt) 14:00 Open University 16:00 Human Nature (rpt) 17:30 Seyond 2000 (rpt) 17:30 Ultrascience (rpt) 16:00 Open University 20:00 Great Commanders 21:00 A Garden Beyond the Sea 21:30 The Cook, the Pan and Nature 22:00 A Mind to Crime 23:00 Greet Commanders (rpt) 23:40 Open University University

#### **SUPER CHANNEL**

6:00 The Selina Scott Show 7:00
Europe 2000 7:30 ITN News Live 6:00
Todey 11:00 European Money Wheel
16:00 Wall Street Morning Reports
17:00 US Money Wheel 18:30 FT
Business Tonight 19:00 ITN News
19:30 Talking to David Frost 20:30 The
Selina Scott Show 21:30 Dateline
22:30 ITN News 23:00 Sport
Magazine 00:00 The Best of the
Tonight Show with Jay Leno 1:00 The
Best of Late Night with Conan O'Brien
2:00 The Best of Later with Greg
Kinnear

#### STAR PLUS

5:00 Aerobics 8:30 Nanny and the Professor 7:00 Mr. Belvedere 7:30 Cooking Secrets of the CIA 8:00 Video Fashion News 6:30 Gabrielle 9:30 Santa Barbara 10:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 11:00 Oprah Winfrey 12:00 Remington Steele 13:00 Cooking Secrets of the CIA 13:30 Video Fashion News 14:00 Teenage Mutant' Ninja Turties 14:30 Black Beauty 15:00 Lost in Space 16:00 Home and Away 16:30 Charles in Charge 17:00 M\*A\*S\*H 17:30 Stryker - detective series 19:80 The Bold and the Beautilul 20:00 Santa Barbara 21:00 The Twilight Zone 21:30 Hearts Alire 22:00 Grace Under Fire 22:30 Barnaby Jones 23:30 Videotashion News 00:00 Oprah Winfrey 1:00 Hooperman 1:30 Home and Away 2:00 The Sullivans

#### ■ CHANNEL 5

8:30 Bodies in Motion 7:30 Basic Training 16:00 Bodies in Motion 16:30 Dangerous Games (rpt) 17:30 Brazilian Soccer (rpt) 18:00 Volleybalts Grand Prix Tournament 19:30 Spanish League Soccer 21:00 Indycar racing 22:00 English League Soccer 23:00 Beach Volleyball 00:00 Baseball — Game of the Week

#### **■ EUROSPORT**

e:30 Mountain Blkes: Franch Championships (rpt) 10:00 e:30 Mountain Bikes: Frsnch Championships (rpt) 10:00 International Motor Sports Magazine 11:00 Motorcycle Racing: Italian Grsnd Prix – race (rpt) 13:00 Car Racing: Indycar Canada (rpt) 14:30 Mountain Bikes: French Championships (rpt) 15:30 Extreme Games 16:00 Handicapped Olympkes 18:00 Soccer: World Cup heats (rpt) 20:00 Motorcycle Racing: Italian Grand Prix – race (rpt) 21:00 Extreme Games – finals 22:00 Motor Sports Magazine 00:00 Eurogoals 1:00 Mountain Bikes: French Championships 1:30 Eurogoff Championships 1:30 Eurogolf

#### **■ PRIME SPORTS**

8:00 Soccer: Tiger Cup, Singapore vs Malaysia (rpt) 8:00 Gillette World of Sport 8:30 Chinese League Soccer 10:30 Indian Sports Magazine 11:30 Asian Soccer Show 12:30 Tennis: US Open et Flushing Meadow – live 1:00 International Sports Magazine 2:00 Futbol Mondial

#### BBC WORLD

News on the hour 8:05 The Money News on the hour 6:05 The Money Program 10:15 The Money Programme 11:30 Jeremy Clarkson's Motorworld (rpt) 12:30 Raymond's Blanc Mange (rpt) 15:05 Correspondent (rpt) 16:15 World Business Report 16:30 Asia-Pacific Newshour 17:30 The Sky at Night (rpt) 18:15 The Money Programme 19:30 Tomornow's World (rpt) 20:00 World News 22:05 The Money Programme 22:50 Earth Report 23:30 The Travel Show 00:00 World Business Report

#### **ECNN INTERNATIONAL**

News throughout the day 6:30 Financial Report 7:30 Diplometic License 8:30 Global View (rpt) 9:30 World Sport 11:30 CNN Newsroom 12:30 Headline News 13:00 Business Day 14:00 Asian News 14:30 World Sport 15:00 Asian News 15:30 Business Asia 16:00 Larry King Live 17:30 World Sport (rpt) 18:30 CNN Computer Connection 21:00 World Business Today 21:30 World News 22:00 Larry King (rpt) 23:00 European News 00:00 World Business Today 00:30 World News Survey.

#### SKY NEWS

News on the hour 6:30 CBS News 7:30 ABC World News 11:30 The Book Show 12:10 CBS 50 Minutes 13:30 World News & Business Report 15:30 CBS Moming News 16:30 Live from Parliament 17:30 The Book Show 19:00 Live at Tive 20:30 Toright Malv Adam Boulton 21:30 Sportline 22:10 CBS 60 Minutes 1:30 CBS Evening News 2:30 ABC World News

AFULA
RAV CHEN = 6424047 Mission
Impossible Star Man 7, 9:30 \*
Independence Day 7, 9:45 CINEMATHEQUE Before the Plain 5 \*

loguej 7:30, 9:45 RAT YAM

RAV CHEN = 5631077 Mission Impossible@Striptease 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* Independence Day 4, 7, 9:45 \* The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 \* The Eraser 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:30, 9:45 \* Stolen Hearts 9:45 \* It takes Ten 5, 7:30 \* The Eraser 5.

BEERSHEBA G.G. GIL 6440771 The Eraser Mission

Impossible 5, 7:30, 10 \* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 \* Crying Freeman 5, 7:30, 10 RAV-NEGEV 1-4 = 235278 Independence Day 4, 7, 9:45 \* The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 \* Things To Do 1-4 =343555 Independence Day 5

KARMIEL CINEMA 1-3 = 887277 The Rock 7, 9:30

KEAR SAVA

Princess 4:45 \* Cuttimoat IslandeBabe KIRYAT SHEMONA

NAHARIYA HECHAL HATARBUT The Rock 8:30 UPPER NAZARETH G.G GIL = 551332 Crying Freeman ● Mission impossible ● The Eraser®Babysitters 4:30, 7, 9:30 ★ Independence Day 4:30, 7:15, 10 ★ The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 10 ★ Heeven's Prisoners.

NESS ZIONA
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10 \* To Die For 7:15, 10 \* To Die For 7:15,
10 \* Babe (Hebrew dialogue)® Legends of
the Wild ® Babysitters ® Swan Princess
5 \* The Eraser 7:15, 10
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G.G. Gill. 1-5 = 628452 To Die For 5, 7:30,
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Impossible®Cryling Freeman 5, 7:30, 10 \*
Heaven's Prisoners 5, 7:15, 10 RAV
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The Rock 9:45 \* Surpteess 5, 7:30, 9:45 \*
The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hebrew dialogue) 5 \* Swan Princess (Hebrew dialogue) Takes Two®Muppets Treasure
teland®The Hunchback of Notre Dame
(English dialogue) 7:30

(English dialogue) 7:30 OR AKIVA RAV CHEN The Rock@The Eraser 7,

9:30 \* Independence Day 7, 9:45
OR YEHUDA
G.G. GIL Mission impossible@The

G.G. GIL Mission impossible@The Eraser@To Die For 5, 7:30, 10 ± Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10
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G.G. HECHAL Independence Day 4:15, 7, 10 ± Siriptease@To Die For 5, 7:30, 10
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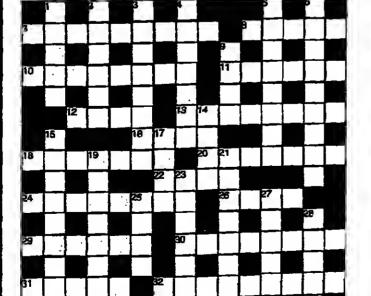
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McMullen 7:45, 9:45 \* Dotty Perez 7:45,
10 \* Trainspotting 10 \* American Culit
7:30 RAV MOR = 9493555 Things 10 Do
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7:30, 10 \* Babe (Hebrew Calogue) 5: 4\*
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Wild 5 \* The Rock Striptess 5, 7:30, 40
\* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 \* 7:0
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YEHUD RAV CHEN Independence Day 4, 7, 9:45 \* Striptease 7:30, 9:45 \* it Takes Two 5 \* The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 \* Things To Do in Derner 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:30 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hebrew dia-

nguero Phone reservations: Tel Aviv 5252244 Phone reservations: Halfa 728878 All times are p.m. uhless otherwise indi-



# 

reckoning to install central

6 Yacht armed with Trident?

9 Bird that sounds whet's

14 It's only e bit of weter (4)

15 Vital to add good score to

17 By and by—no one knows who by (4)

19 Assume responsibility and

21 You have a direct line, but

can't speak, to him (B)

23 The Emperor of the

25 Cuts lines on graph paper

27 Rough place for golf, it's said (6)

28 Such good qualities—may get mitre (5)

SOLUTIONS

start bowling (4,4)

Antarctic (7)

(4)

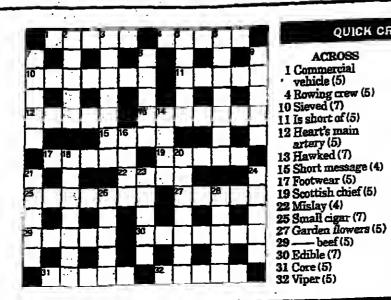
needed for the rotisserie (4)

heating (8)

total (9)

ACROSS: 1 Justice, 5 Herts, Admit, 9 Gorille, 10 Several, 11 Cargo, 12 Morose, 14 Stress, 17 Crawl, 19 Serpent, 22 Balance, 23 Taunt, 24 Ensue, 25 Pioneer. DOWN: 1 Jeans, 2 Samovar, 3 Inter, 4 Euguif, 5 Haricot, 8 Ruler, 7 Zealous, 12 Macabre, 13 Silence, 15 Execute, 16 Asleep, 18 Atlas, 20

Yesterday's Quick Solution



ACROSS I Commercial vehicle (5) 4 Rowing crew (5)

10 Sieved (7) 11 Is short of (5) 12 Heart's main artery (5) 13 Hawked (7) 15 Short message (4) 17 Footwear (5) 19 Scottish chief (5)

6 Harrier (7) 7 Snap (5) 9 Digression (5) 16 Capital of Norway (4) 18 Perform (7)

20 Filled with air (7) 24 Advantage (5) 26 Aquatic animal (5) 28 Black (5)

#### QUICK CROSSWORD DOWN

8 Alter to suit (5) 14 Wriggly fish (4)

21 Get a goal (5) 23 Not this (5)

2 Arrangement (5) 3 Dependent (7) 5 Lazed (5)

1977.
Hadassah Medical Organization - Israel Cancer Association support sarvice 02-824-7876).

Jerusalem: Kupat Holim Cialit, Straus A, 3 Avigdoni, 670-6860; Balsam, Salah e-Din, 627-2315; Shuafat, Shuafat Road, 581-0108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 628-2058.

628-2058.
Tel Aviv: Bloch, 32 Bloch, 522-6425;
Kupat Holim Clalit, 7-9 Amsterdam, 5232383. Till 3 a.m. Tuesday: Pharma Dal Jabotinsky, 125 lbn Gvirol, 548-2040. Till midnight: Superpharm Ramet Aviv, 40 Einstein, 641-3730; London Ministore Superpharm, 4 Shaul Harnelech, 596-

Ra'anana-Kiar Sava: Shoef, 78 Ahuza, Ra'anana, 981068.
Netanya: Ariela, 2 Salomon, 617836
Krayot area: Harman, 4 Simaai Modřin, Kiryat Motzkin, 670-7770/3.
Haifa: Hanassi, 33 Hanassi, 833-3312.
Herzilya: Ctal Pharm, Belt Merkazim, 8 Maskit (cnr. Sderot Hagalim), Herzilya Pituah, 558472, 568407. Open 8 a.m. to mirtoristi.

Upper Nazareth: Clai Pharm, Lev Ha'ir Mali, 570468. Open 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. **DUTY HOSPITALS** 

Netanya: Lantado. 100 POLICE 102 FIRE FIRST AID 101 gen David Adom

Rambam Hospital 04-652-9205, 24 hours a day, for information in case of poisoning. Eran - Emotional First Ald, 1201, also: Eran - Emotional First Aud. 1201, assot Jerusalem 581-0303, Tel Aviv 546-1111 (children/youth 696-1113), Haifa 867-2222/3, Beersheba 649-4333, Netanya 625110, Karmiel 988-6770, Klar Sava 767-4555, Hadera 346789.
Wizo bottines for battered women 02-851-4111, 03-646-1133 (also in Russian), 07-637-6310, 08-855-0506 (also in

IERLISAL EM

CINEMATHEQUE Before the Rain 5 ±
The Birdcage 7:15 ± Casino 9:30
Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow 9:30 G.G.
Gill Jerusalem Mail (Matha) = 788448 The
Eraser 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 ± Heaven's
Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 ± To Die
For©Crying Preeman 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 ±
Babysitiers 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 ± Cutthroat
Island 4:30, 7:15 ± Mission Impossible
4:45, 7:15, 9:45 ± Sabe (English dialogue)
7:15 ± Babe (Hobrew dialogue) 4:30
JERUSALEM THEATER 20 Marcus SI
± 617167 Cold Countort Farm 7, 9:30 ± JERUSALEM THEATER 20 Marcus SL ± 617167 Cold Comfort Parm 7, 9:30 K.

The Brothers McMullen 7, 9:30 RAV CHEN 1-7= 792799 Credit Card Reservations= 794477 Rev-Mecher Bulking, 19 Haromen St. Tabiot Striplease 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* Independence Day 4:15, 7, 9:45 \* Four Rooms@Things To Do Independence 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 \* Phenomenon 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:30 SEMADAR = 618168 Trainspotting 10 \* Cold Comfort Farm 8 \* Antonia's Line 6 MEVASSERES TAINSPOTT TO G.G. Gill. The Rock 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 \* Il Postano 7:15, 9:45 \* Legend of the Wild 4:45

Wild 4:45
TEL AVIV
DIZENGOFF = 5172923 The Brothers
McMullen 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5, 7:45, 10 ±
Leaving Las Veges 11 a.m., 3, 7:45 ±
White Squalt 1, 5, 10 DRIVE IN The
Birdcage 10 ± Sex Film 12 midnight
GAN RA'IR = 52792 15 71 Rn Gabirol St.

Brideage 10 \* Sex Film 12 michight GAN HA'IR \* 5279215 71 Rn Gabinol St. Priscilla 230, 5, 7:30, 9:45 Phenomenon 2:30, 5, 7:30, 9:45 GORDON Eat, Drink, Man, Woman 5:30, 7:45, 10 G.G. HOD 1-4 \* 5226226 Hod Passage, 101 Dizengoff St. Mission impossible@To Ole For 7:30, 10 \* Babe/stiters 5, 7:30, 10 \* Babe/stiters 5, 7:30, 10 \* Babe/stiters 5, 7:30, 10 \* Babe (Hebrew dialogue) \* Degends of the Wild 5 \* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 LEV 1-4 \* 5288283 Trainspotting 12:15, 2:15, 5, 7:45, 10 \* Antonia's Line 2, 10 \* Antonia's Lin

CINEMA CAFÉ AMAMI = 8325755 Fint 9:15 \* 11 Postino 9:15 ATZMON 1-5 = 9:15 \* II POSITIO 9:15 AT LAND 1-3 \* 9:15 \* II POSITIO 9:15 AT LAND 1-3 \* 9:15 CINEMA CAFE MORIAH # 8242477

Trainspotting 9:30 \* Cold Comfort Farm 7:30 GLOBECTTY - ORI Mission processible 87:0 Die For 7:15 9:45 \* Babe impossible@To Die For 7:15, 9:45 \* Babe Impossible@To Die For 7:15, 9:45 \* Babe (Habraw diagous)@Legend of the Wild 4:45 \* Hasver's Prisoners 4:20, 7:15, 10 \* The Eraser 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 ORLY=381868 Things To Do in Derrver 7, 9:15 PANORAMA 1-3 \* 8382020 Mission impossible 4:30, 7, 9:30 \* Priscilla 9:30 \* The Brothers McMullen 4:30, 7, 9:30 RAV-GAT 1-2 \* 8674311 Independence Day 4, 6:45, 9:30 \* Striptesse 4:30, 7, 9:30 RAV-MOR 1-7 \* 8416898 Independence Day 11 a.m., 4, 6:45, 9:45 \* Four Rooms 4:45, 7, 9:30 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:15 \* The A45, 7, 9:30 \* The Fundament of Note Dame (English dislogue) 7:15 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hebrew dislogue) 5 \* The Rock 4:30, 7, 9:30 \* Stolen Hearts 4:30, 7, 9:30 \* Things To Do In Denver 4:45, 7, 9:30 \* \*

Denver 4:45, 7, 9:30 ★
Phenomenon@Four Rooms 4:30, 7, 9:15

#### CINEMA ★ The Rock 4:15, 7, 9:30

ARAO STAR = 9950904 Independence bay 7, 9:45 \* Mission Impossible 7:15, 9:45 \* 9:40 \* MISSION IMPOSSIONE 7:15, 9:45 \* Cryving Freeman 7:30, 9:45
ASHDOD
G.G. Gill \* 8647202 The Eraser Trainsporting 7:30, 10 \* Swan Princesselt Takes Two 5 \* The Rocketteaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 G. G. Harden Rocketteaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 G. G.

Rock@Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 \* Independence Day 4:30, 7:15, 10 G.G. ORI 1-3# 711223 The Hunchbeck of Notre Dame (Hebrew dialogue) 5 \* Mission Impossible@Striptasse 5, 7:30, 10 \* Crying Preeman 7:30, 10 ASHKELON
G.G. GIL \*\* 729977 The Eraser@Crying Preeman@Mission Impossible 5, 7:30, 10 \* To Die For 7:30, 10 \* Babysitters 5 \* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 RAV CHEN \* 711223 Stolen Hearts@Striptasse 5 7:30, 9:45 \* The

CHEN \$ 711223 Stolen Hearts@Striptease 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hebrew disague) 5 \* Independence Day 4:15, 7, 9:45 \* The Rock 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English disague) 7:30, 9:45

\* It takes Two 5, 7:30 \* The Eraser 5, 7:30, 9:45 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Habrew disloque) 5

in Denver Striptesse 5, 7:30, 9:45 7:15, 10 \* Trainspotting 10 \* k Takes Two 5, 7:45 \* Striptesse 7:45, 10 \* Babe (Hebraw dialogue) The Hunchback of Notre Denne 5 \* The Eraser 7:45 \* The

HORK 10
HERZLIYA
DANIEL HOTEL To Die For 8, 10
STAR= 589068 Striptease 7:30, 10 \* The
Hunchbcak of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:15, 10 \* Crying Freeman 7:45, 10
KARMIFI ★ Independence Day 7, 9:45 ★ The Eraser

RC-AR SAVA
G.G. Gill. #7677370 Independence Day
4:30, 7:15, 10 \* Babe (Hebrew dialogue) 5
\* Mission Impossible 7:30, 10 \* Swan
Princess 5 \* Striptesse 5, 7:30, 10 \* The
Rock 10 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (English dialogue) 7:30 \* The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hebrew dialogue) 4:30 \* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10 \* The Eraser 7:30, 10 \* Babyshters 5 KIRYAT BIALIK KIRYAT BIALIK
G.G. KIRYON 1-9 = 779186 The
Eraser Crying Freeman 4:45, 7, 9:30 \*
Mission impossible 7, 9:30 \* Little

Princess 4:45 \* Cumunat reactorable
(Hebraw dialogue) Lagends of the
Wilderlipper@Babysitters 4:45 \*
Heaven's Prisoners@The Birdcage
@Trainspotting@To Die For 7, 9:30 \* The
Rock 4:45, 7, 9:30 \* Cold Comfort Farm
4:45, 7, 9:30 \* Primal Fear 7, 9:30 G.G. Gil. \* 6905080 Independence Day 4:30, 7:15, 10 \* Fargo 4:30, 7, 9:30 \* Heaven's Prisoners 4:30, 7:15, 10

STAR = 5491979 Independence Day@The Rock 7:15, 10 \* The Eraser 7:30, 9:45 \* Little Princess 11 a.m., 5

logue) 5